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# **The functioning of Ottoman *avâriz* taxation: an aspect of the relationship between centre and periphery**

## **A case study of the province of Karaman, 1621-1700**

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by  
Süleyman Demirci

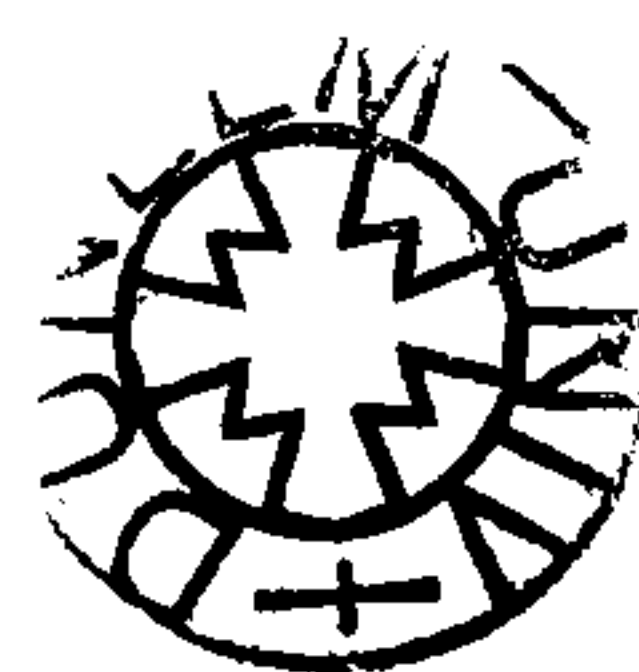
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A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies

The Faculty of Social Sciences

University of Durham



2001

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## **Declaration**

**No portion of this thesis has previously been submitted by me for another degree in this or any other university.**

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## Abstract

This study is a pioneering study of Ottoman *avâriz* taxation in the province of Karaman, 1621-1700. It is a case study based primarily on previously little-used registers and documents from the Ottoman archives, in particular more than fifty *avâriz/nüzul* registers from the Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul.

The study examines the situation in six related chapters. Chapter 1 comprises a brief introduction on the historical development of Ottoman taxation practices, administrative organisation of the province, and the origin of *avâriz* taxation in the Ottoman administration. Chapter 2 examines for the first time *avârizhânes* in 48 *kazas* of 8 *livas* in the entire province, and the potential of *avârizhâne* data for demographic research. Chapter 3 is also the first of its kind in presenting firsthand details of the *avâriz* and *nüzul* levies. It also examines the tax burden on the *reaya* in the province of Karaman on the basis of *avâriz/nüzul* registers and the *sicils* of Kayseri and Konya. Chapter 4 concentrates exclusively on the collectors of *avâriz* and *nüzul* levies and examines for the first time their official status on the basis of *avâriz/nüzul* registers. Chapter 5 uses evidence from the *sicils* to discuss complaints and alleged corruption in the Ottoman *avâriz* taxation system and in the centre-periphery relationship in the Ottoman empire. Chapter 6 is the conclusion of the study, which discusses the potential for future research of *avâriz/nüzul* data.

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The research for this study was carried out in the Başbakanlık Arşivi in İstanbul, research centres in both Kayseri (Erciyes Üniversitesi Kayseri ve Yöresi Tarih Araştırmaları Merkezi-KAYTAM) and Konya (Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü), and in Hacettepe and Ankara University Libraries in Ankara. The staff and directors in these archive/libraries gave me invaluable assistance and minimised the bureaucracy for me during my research. I thank them for their sincere efforts and kindness. The staff of Durham University Library also provided me invaluable assistance. I would like to thank the University of Durham and particularly to Centre for Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies both for providing study facilities and for contributing to my research expenses in Istanbul and in Edinburgh for presenting a paper at the BRISMES 2001 conference.

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Needless to say, the responsibility for all the arguments put forward in this study and the possible errors and inferiority of the English language naturally belong to the author.



## Abbreviations

AO	Archivum Ottomanicum (The Hague)
AÜDTCFD	Ankara Üniversitesi Dil ve Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi (Ankara)
BMTC	Ber muceb-i tahrir-i cedit
DVİA	Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi
EI <sup>2</sup>	Encyclopaedia of Islam, second edition, (Leiden)
IJMES	International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies (London-New York)
IJTS	International Journal of Turkish Studies (Madison, Wisconsin)
IS	Islamic Studies
İA	İslam Ansiklopedisi (İstanbul)
İÜEFTD	İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Dergisi (İstanbul)
İÜİFM	İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası (İstanbul)
JAAS	Journal of Asian and African Studies
JEEH	Journal of European Economic History (Rome)
JESHO	Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient (Leiden)
KK	Kamil Kepeci Section (The Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive, İstanbul)
KSS	Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicilleri (National Library, Ankara)
Konya SS	Konya Şer'iyye Sicilleri (National Library, Ankara)
MEJ	The Middle East Journal (London)
MM	Maliyeden Müdevver Defterleri Section (The Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive, İstanbul)
MES	Middle Eastern Studies (London)
OA/JOS	Osmanlı Araştırmaları/Journal of Ottoman Studies (İstanbul)
OTAM	Osmanlı Tarih Araştırmaları Merkezi, (Ankara)
SI	Studia Islamica (Paris)
TAD	Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi (Ankara)
TDA	Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları (İstanbul)
TED	İstanbul Üniversitesi Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi (İstanbul)
TID	Ege Üniversitesi Tarih İnceleme Dergisi (İzmir)
TK	Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü Arşivi (Ankara)
TSAB	Turkish Studies Association Bulletin (Bloomington)
TT	Tapu-Tahrir Defterleri Section (The Prime Ministry Ottoman Archive, İstanbul)
VD	Vakıflar Dergisi (Ankara)

## Note on spelling

The technical terms and other Turkish words used in the text and quotations from the original sources are spelled as they appear in the sources, instead of their modern versions. The technical terms are explained in the text, as well as in the glossary at the end of the study. Place names have been spelled as they appear in the documents. In quotations from various works, as well as published documents, I have not changed the ways they were transliterated by the authors and editors. In addition, in the transliterations of Ottoman Turkish words, I have not used the system used in the Encyclopaedia of Islam completely but only employed a few rules as follows:

For “ayn” (اَ, اِ, اُ): ` (reaya, instead of re'âyâ)

For “hemze” (ء): ‘ (memur, instead of me'mur)

For long a, (اَ, اِ, اُ): ^ (avâriz, instead of 'avâriz,)

The following letters in modern Turkish alphabet should be pronounced roughly as follows:

c = j (as in “joke”)

ç = ch (as in “chance”)

e = e (as in “red”)

ğ = gh (as in “brougham”)

i = ee (as in “keep”)

ı = e (as in “lottery”)

ö = u or eu (as in “fur” )

ş = sh (as in “shan”)

u = oo (as in “cook”)

ü = ü (as in German ü)



## Chapter 1: Introduction

### 1.1.1 The seventeenth-century Ottoman socio-economic background

The seventeenth century was a turning point for the Ottoman empire. Although historians differ in their precise interpretations of this, many now stress the notion of development rather than decline. From Inalcik's point of view it was a century of 'transformation' of Ottoman institutions, while Faroqhi describes it as an era of widespread 'crisis and change' both politically and in socio-economic terms. Darling sees a period of 'consolidation' and of adaptation of the state structure to circumstances; Murphey stresses the 'significant administrative experiments and innovation' and a re-assessment of government practices.<sup>1</sup>

Assumptions about 17<sup>th</sup>-century Ottoman history based on documentary evidence have successfully challenged the once-dominant historiographical perspective of the observers of 'decline'.<sup>2</sup> The Celâli disturbances, the sorry fates of sultans

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<sup>1</sup> Halil Inalcik, "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700", *AO*, VI (1980): 283-337; Sureyya Faroqhi, "Crisis and Change, 1590-1699", in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, (eds.) Halil Inalcik and Donald Quataert, Part II (1600-1914), (Cambridge, 1994): 411-636; Linda Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy: Tax Collection and Finance Administration in the Ottoman Empire 1560-1660*, (New York 1996); "Ottoman Fiscal Administration: Decline or Adaptation?" *JEEH*, 26/1 (Rome 1997): 157-177; Rhoads Murphey, "Continuity and Discontinuity in Ottoman Administrative Theory and Practice during the Late Seventeenth Century." *Poetics Today*, 14 (1993): 419-443.

<sup>2</sup> On the issue of Ottoman decline, see Bernard Lewis, "Some reflections on the Decline of the Ottoman Empire", *Studia Islamica* 9 (1958): 111-27; "Ottoman Observers of Ottoman Decline", *Islamic Studies* 1 (1962): 82-87; Halil Inalcik, "The Ottoman Decline and Its Effects upon the Reaya", in *Aspects of the Balkans, Continuity and Change, Contributions to the International Balkan Conference*, UCLA 1969, eds. H. Birnbaum and S. Vryonis, (The Hague: Mouton, 1972): 338-54; "The Heyday and Decline of the Ottoman Empire", in *The Cambridge History of Islam*, eds. P. M. Holt, A. K. Lambton and Bernard Lewis, (Cambridge, 1970): 324-53; Kemal H Karpat, "The Stages of Ottoman History, A Structural Comparative Approach", in *The Ottoman State and Its Place in World History*, ed. K. H. Karpat, (Leiden, 1974): 79-106; Rhoads Murphey, "The Veliyyüddin Telhis: Notes on the Sources and Interrelations Between Koçi Bey and Contemporary Writers of Advice to Kings", *T.T.K Belleten*, XLIII/171(1979): 547-71; "Continuity and Discontinuity in Ottoman Administrative Theory and Practice"; Douglas A. Howard, "Ottoman Historiography and the Literature of 'Decline' of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," *JAH*, 22 (1988): 52-77; 'Ayn 'Ali Efendi and the Literature of Ottoman Decline', *TSAB*, 11 (1987): 18-



Osman II, Mustafa I, Ibrahim I and the 'sultanate of women', through the Köprülü era to retreat from Vienna in 1683 and the ultimate acceptance of defeat at Karlowitz in 1699 - such episodes once symbolised the inevitability of decay and decline in the Ottoman state and were apparently confirmed in the writings of Ottoman critics such as Koçi Bey. Whilst events themselves and historical texts cannot be changed, interpretations of them can and so, in consequence, can the significance attached to them. For instance, both traditional and revisionist views hold financial weakness to be a fundamental Ottoman problem in the seventeenth century. For Koçi Bey and others, this was principally a matter of misuse of *timar* revenues for non-military purposes (with clear implications for military strength) and the unprecedented increase in numbers and therefore in corruption within the central administration.<sup>3</sup> The answer appeared to be the restoration of the old system, as near as possible, to its original working order. Modern interpretations which rely more on archival data than on 17<sup>th</sup>-century opinion show the complexity and adaptability of the Ottoman administrative procedures and demonstrate how, from the critical period of the financial crisis of the 1580s and 1590s onwards, the state mobilised increasing amounts of cash revenue in the attempt to meet its needs. While no nicely clear-cut 'model' can be drawn to parallel that of the *timar* system, the Ottoman administration can more easily be

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20; Linda Darling, *Revenue-Raising and Legitimacy*: 1-21; "Ottoman Fiscal Administration: Decline or Adaptation?" *JEEH*, 26/1(1997): 157-177; Zeki Arslantürk, *Nâima'ya Göre Osmanlı Devleti'nin Çöküş Sebepleri*, (Ankara, 1989); Mehmet Öz, *Osmanlı'da "çözülme" ve Gelenekçi Yorumcuları (XVI. Yüzyıldan XVIII. Yüzyıl Başlarına)*, (Dergâh Yayınları, Ankara, 1997); Cemal Kafadar, "The Question of Ottoman Decline", *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review*, 4 (1997-1998): 30-75; cf. Martin Sicker, *The Islamic World in Decline; from the Treaty of Karlowitz to the Disintegration of the Ottoman Empire*, (Praeger, 2000).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bernard Lewis, "Ottoman Observers of Ottoman Decline", *Islamic Studies*, 1 (1962): 82-87; for a much more comprehensive evaluation of the Ottoman observers and their ideas, see Mehmet Öz, *Osmanlı'da "çözülme" ve Gelenekçi Yorumcuları (XVI. Yüzyıldan XVIII. Yüzyıl Başlarına)*.



seen for what it was - a flexible organisation motivated by practicality rather than ideology, and prepared to adapt to circumstances.

The study of *avâriz* taxation presented in this thesis contributes to this debate by extending our understanding of 17<sup>th</sup>-century Ottoman administrative development into a previously unresearched area. First, however, it will be useful to briefly review the principal events and issues which influence the interpretation of the Ottoman socio-economic history of this period in order to place the *avâriz* system in a better context.

In the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the Ottoman empire engaged in long and costly wars on two frontiers, against Safavid Iran in the east (1578-1590), and the Austrian Habsburgs in the west (1593-1606). During this time the Ottoman government faced considerable and unprecedented financial difficulty in meeting the extra expenses of warfare. This coincided with other major developments which adversely affected Ottoman government finances. First, population pressures and large-scale movement among the inhabitants of rural areas disturbed agricultural production, tax collection and local security. Second, the economy generally, and that of urban areas in particular, was affected by monetary fluctuations, notably the devaluations of the *akçe* from the 1580s onwards and consequent increase in the price of goods and foodstuffs. Third was the change in some trade routes caused by the Portuguese, and later the Dutch, diverting shipments from the East Indies away from the eastern Mediterranean route to the Atlantic route, and reducing Ottoman income from customs dues.<sup>4</sup> Finally, the

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<sup>4</sup> Recent studies on social history indicate that there was a considerable increase in the population, both urban and rural, of the Ottoman Empire as well as the Mediterranean and Europe during the sixteenth century, especially between 1520 and 1570. For Anatolia, see Ö. L Barkan, "Tarihi Demografi Araştırmaları ve Osmanlı Tarihi", *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, X (1953): 1-29; L Erder, "The



need to combat increasingly well-armed European forces on the Hungarian front resulted from the 1590s onwards in far-reaching changes in Ottoman military practice, i.e. the recruitment of more mercenary troops and increased expenditure on firearms, in place of the *timar*-holding cavalryman.<sup>5</sup>

Many of the new mercenary recruits appeared to have been young men of peasant origin, often landless and partially educated, of a type which had already proved to be an uncontrolled, destabilising element in rural society throughout the latter half of the sixteenth century, which were also the principal element in the so-called *celâli* disturbances. Looking to gain money, status and occupation, they willingly enrolled in the 1590s as *levend* or *sekban* in the armies of the state or in the service of a provincial governor, and acquired muskets. On losing this employment at the end of a campaign or on a change of governor, groups of

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Measurement of Pre-industrial Population Changes, The Ottoman Empire from the 15<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> Century”, *MES*, XI (1975): 284-301; R Jennings, "Urban Population in Anatolia in the Sixteenth Century: A Study of Kayseri, Karaman, Amasya, Trabzon and Erzurum", *IJMES*, 7 (1976): 21-57; Erder and Faroqhi; "Population Rise and Fall in Anatolia, 1550-1620", *MES*, XV (1979): 322-45; Oktay Özel, *Changes in Settlement Patterns, Population and Society in Rural Anatolia: A Case Study of Amasya (1576-1642)*, (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Manchester, Manchester, U.K, 1993); İslamoğlu-İnan, *State and Peasant in the Ottoman Empire: Agrarian Power Relations*, (Leiden. 1994); Ali Açikel, *Changes in settlement patterns, Population and Society in North Central Anatolia: A Case Study of the District of Tokat (1574-1643)*, (Unpublished PhD Thesis, the University of Manchester, Manchester, U.K, 1999). For the general situation in Anatolia in the second half of the sixteenth century, and the period after 1580s in particular see M. Akdağ, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Kuruluş ve İnkişafı Devrinde Türkiye'nin İktisadî Vaziyeti", *T.T.K. Belleten*, XII/51 (1949): 497-569; *T.T.K. Belleten*, XIV/55 (1950): 319-418; *Celâli İsyanları (1550-1603)*, (Ankara, 1963); "Celali İsyanlarının Başlaması", *AÜDTCFD*, 4 (1964): 1-49; "Genel çizgileri ile XVII.yy Türkiye Tarihi", *TAD*, 4 (1966):203-47; H. İnalçık, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun Kuruluş ve İnkişafı Devrinde Türkiye'nin İktisadî Vaziyeti Üzerine Bir Tetkik Münasebetiyle", *T.T.K. Belleten*, XV/60 (1951): 629-90; M. Cezar, *Osmanlı Tarihinde Levendler*, (İstanbul, 1965); Karen Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats. The Ottoman Route to State Centralization*, (Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London, 1994).

<sup>5</sup> See İnalçık, "The Socio-Political Effects of the Diffusion of Fire-Arms in the Middle East", in *War, Technology and Society in the Middle East*, eds. V. J. Parry and M. E. Yapp, (London, 1974): 195-217; İlgürel, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Ateşli Silâhların Yayılışı", *İÜEFTD*, 32 (1979): 301-18; Jennings, "Firearms, Bandits, and Gun-control: Some Evidence on Ottoman Policy Towards Firearms in the Possession of Reaya, from Judicial Records of Kayseri, 1600-1627", *AO*, VI (1980): 339-58; on Ottoman warfare, see Murphey, *Ottoman Warfare: 1500-1700*, (University College London (UCL) Press, London, 1999). On European warfare in general, see Jeremy Black, *European Warfare, 1660-1815*, (UCL Press, London, 1994).



armed *sekbans* tended to become brigands and to exploit rural areas, adding further to the general sense of insecurity and *celâli* lawlessness.<sup>6</sup> This problem became particularly acute between the years 1596 and 1607 but the problem of armed peasant groups continued to threaten provincial stability and governmental control in Anatolia thereafter. It is apparent from the *sicils* of Kayseri and Konya, and from other types of archival documents, that *celâli* brigandage continued throughout the first half of the seventeenth century. More dangerously, *sekbans* companies formed a large part of the forces of Abaza Mehmed Paşa, rebel governor-general of Erzurum 1623-28, and of other governors' rebellions later in the century.<sup>7</sup> Paralleling *levend/sekban* depredations were the unlawful activities of some provincial officials (known as *ehl-i örf*) = Ottoman officials representing the municipal level of imperial administration in the provinces who made a practice of touring rural areas village by village under the pretext of inspection, imposing illegal taxes and exacting money, food and animals from the villages in

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<sup>6</sup> For a detailed account of the *Celâlis*, see Akdağ, "Celâli İsyanlarının Başlaması", and his *Türk Halkının Dirlik ve Düzenlik Kavgası Celâli İsyanları*, (Bilgi Yayınevi, Ankara, 1975); W. Griswold, *The Great Anatolian Rebellion 1591-1611*, (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz, 1983); cf. also Cezar, *Osmanlı Tarihinde Levendler*, (Istanbul, 1965); Barkey, *Bandits and Bureaucrats*.

<sup>7</sup> The existing *şer'iyye sicils* of Kayseri and Konya contain references to such events. For particular references to *Celâli* Abaza Hasan Paşa for the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, see Korhan Koray; *70/1 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili Metin Transkripsiyonu (1069/1658)*, (Unpublished BA dissertation, Erciyes University, Department of History, Kayseri 1998), p.18 and the following pages (70:20-51) in the original register p.20, entry no.51. Hereafter archival sources are cited in accordance with the original source as follows, i.e 70:20-51 means Kayseri *sicils* number 70, p.20, entry 51. 70:20-52, 70:21-53, 70:22-57, 70:22-58, 70:23-60, 70:24-61, 70:24-62, 70:26-68, 70:28-75, 70:29-76, 70:29-78, 70:29-78, 70:30-79, 70:30-80, 70:30-83, 70:31-84, 70:31-84; Rukiye Öcal, *70/2 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili Metin Transkripsiyonu (1069/1658)*, (Unpublished BA dissertation, Erciyes University, Department of History, Kayseri 1998), p.23 and the following pages (70:32-85), 70:32-86, 70:32-87, 70:33-88, 70:33-89, 70:34-90, 70:34-91, 70:35-94, 70:36-95, 70:36-96, 70:37-98, 70:38-103, 70:39-104, 70:39-105; 70:40-106; 70:40-107, 70:40-108, 70:41-109, 70:42-112, 70:43-114, 70:43-115, 70:44-116, 70:45-118, 70:45-119, 70:45-120, 70:46-121, 70:46-123, 70:47-124. For the remaining entries regarding *Celâli* Abaza Hasan Paşa, see the relevant entries in either *KSS 70* or the unpublished BA dissertations listed at the end of the study.



order to feed their retinues.<sup>8</sup> The policy of the central government on this matter changed over time depending on the current socio-economic, political and military conditions. On the one hand, it often called the peasants to arms (*nefir-i âm*) and let them form their local militias (*il-eris*) under the supervision of their district *kadis* to defend themselves against the *celâlis* and even against officials involved in oppression<sup>9</sup>; on the other hand, it sometimes ordered general inspections of the firearms in the possession of tax-paying subjects (*reaya*) contrary to its previous policy.

It is in this context of military necessity, economic disruption and widespread provincial unrest that the early 17<sup>th</sup>-century Ottoman government sought to adapt certain administrative practices, crucially those concerning the assessment and collection of taxes. One of the most significant of these was the *avâriz* and the closely-related *nüzul* taxes. By the mid-seventeenth century these *avâriz* levies had become one of the most important annual sources of government tax income, and remained significant well into the nineteenth century.

### 1.1.2 Aims and methods of this study

This thesis uses records of a specific and major revenue source to test recent theories about the flexibility and pragmatism of seventeenth-century Ottoman financial administration, assessing how far the government was prepared to alter

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<sup>8</sup> Such illegal activities of provincial officials caused continuous complaints by the peasants and constituted one of the main subjects of the sultanic “justice decrees” (*adaletnâmes*) of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. For an analysis of these decrees, see İnalcık, “Adaletnameler”, *Belgeler* (1965). Also see İnalcık, “The Ottoman Decline and Its Effects upon the Reaya”; Akdağ, *Türk Halkının Dirlik ve Düzenlik Kavgası Celâli İsyanları*, pp. 283-337.

<sup>9</sup> On the *il-eri* organisation, see Akdağ, *Türk Halkının Dirlik ve Düzenlik Kavgası Celâli İsyanları*,

tax demands in line both with ability to pay and with its own requirements, whether of increased cash income or of exemptions for services provided. It addresses also the relationship between people and government as seen in the documented level of *avâriz*-related complaints and the way these were dealt with. It challenges the related and tenacious assumption that administrative efficiency was seriously compromised by increasing corruption amongst the government's own officials. Discussion of all these issues contributes to the debate on the nature and extent of Ottoman government authority in the seventeenth century. If the financial administration was able to develop the *avâriz* and *nüzul* taxation system into a regular annual tax, administered at a level which tax-payers were relatively happy with, and succeed in bringing the proceeds directly to Istanbul for the desired use, it must be concluded that in this aspect of administration at least, the Ottoman state remained efficient and authoritative throughout the seventeenth century.

Only a very limited amount of research has been done so far on *avâriz* registers as well as *avâriz* levies.<sup>10</sup> This study is the first to use *avâriz defters* systematically to examine the working of the *avâriz* system over a significant period of time. Given the huge number of unstudied *avâriz defters* which exist, covering large areas of Anadolu and Rumeli over two hundred years, it was decided to confine the present study to one specific geographic area, the Anatolian province of Karaman, to cash *avâriz* (*avâriz akçesi*) and cash *nüzul* (*nüzul bedeli*) levies only, and to the period 1621-1700. The study is based on firsthand research on original, largely unused Ottoman archival registers. Identification and examination of these

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pp. 210-12; İnalcık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation", pp. 304-11.



archival sources was followed by analysis of the data collected, and its integration with other research findings and with secondary literature to produce interim conclusions. Once this first study is complete it will form a basis for future case studies of *avâriz* in other provinces and ultimately for an assessment of the *avâriz* system throughout the empire. The *avâriz* and *nüzul* registers of the seventeenth century provide a good example in this respect and, as revealed in this study, offer valuable data on the extent and nature of the changes which took place in the province of Karaman during the seventeenth century.

The thesis has the following specific aims:

- (1) To present evidence on the *avârizhâne* ('tax house unit') system of tax assessment and collection as a feature of administrative practice, and to show the potential for demographic and social research of *avârizhâne* data (Chapter 2).
- (2) To show the amounts yielded by *avâriz* and *nüzul* levies during the given period of time, noting the significance of fluctuations (Chapter 3).
- (3) To identify and comment on the origins and status of individual collectors of these taxes (Chapter 4).
- (4) To examine the evidence of complaints and corruption in the *avâriz* system in the Ottoman province of Karaman and how efficiently these were dealt with by the government and its officials (Chapter 5).

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<sup>10</sup> See p. 24.

- (5) To consider how far the details of the *avâriz* system may support or correct existing assumptions about 17<sup>th</sup>-century Ottoman taxation in particular and the socio-economic history of the period in general, and the relationship between centre and periphery at a time when a series of drastic changes in socio-economic, political and military structures came together and forced the empire into a number of drastic changes from the beginning of the seventeenth century (Chapter 6: Conclusion).



## 1.2 Recent research on Ottoman taxation

Despite the extensive research done on Ottoman socio-economic history generally, over the past forty or fifty years, the *avâriz defterleri* have not yet been systematically examined. The number of published studies specifically on *avâriz* is small. Essential information on the origin and nature of these levies was first given in 1945 by Barkan in his article '*avâriz*' in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*. Aktepe published a summary of the *avâriz-icmal defteri* for the *kaza* of Istanbul dated 1044/1634-35 with an introduction on the importance and value of the *avâriz* registers for research in socio-economic history and a transliteration of the text into the Latin alphabet. Sahillioğlu's article on '*avariz*' in *Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi (DVIA)* gives general information on its existence in the empire generally, while in a series of other articles he studied *avâriz*-related levies in the *liva* of Bolu, based upon archival documents.<sup>11</sup>

M. Çağatay Uluçay's works give some information on the rate of the *avâriz* levies in different places within the empire according to the entries in *Manisa şer'iyye sicilleri* with some specific references to the disorder at the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and afterwards.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "Avariz", *IA*, 2 (Istanbul 1945): 13-19; Münir Aktepe, "XVII. asra ait İstanbul Kazası Avariz Defteri", *İstanbul Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 3 (1957): 109-139; Halil Sahillioğlu, "Avariz", *DVIA*, vol.4 (Istanbul 1996): 108-109; "Osmanlılarda Vergi Dışı Bırakılanlar", *Çele*, 18 (1964): 4-5; "17. Yüzyıl Sonunda Bolu Livasi Sürsat Bedeli", *Çele*, 11 (1964): 15-21; "Boludan Tahsil Edilen Bazı Vergiler ve Bunların Nisbetleri", *Çele*, 29 (1965): 4-8; "Bolu'da Avariz Vakıfları", *Çele*, 30 (1965): 4-7; "Osmanlı Devrinde Ağırlaşan Vergilere Karşı Halkın Tepkileri", *Çele*, 33 (1966): 9-12; *Çele*, 35 (1966): 25-31.

<sup>12</sup> M. Çağatay Uluçay, *XVII. Asırda Saruhan'da Eşkiyalık ve Halk Hareketleri*, (Istanbul 1945); *18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Saruhan'da Eşkiyalık ve Halk Hareketleri*, (Istanbul, 1955): 36-55.



Güçer discussed the origin and the basis of *avâriz* levies in the Ottoman empire in general, in his pioneering book on grain and grain taxes in the Ottoman empire during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>13</sup> He made extensive use of four particular *avâriz* and *nüzul* registers dating from 1590 to 1638, mostly concerning Anatolia. He also analyses the question of a grain-related crisis in the empire and its possible reasons. At the end of the book a comparison of the amount of *avâriz* taxes collected from the various provinces of the Empire within Anatolia in the years c.1590 and c.1637/38 is given in table formula.<sup>14</sup> A brief but thoughtful discussion on the origin of *avâriz-nüzul* impositions in the Ottoman empire was also made by McGowan in a paper read to the 8<sup>th</sup> International Turkish Historical Congress held in Ankara in 1981.<sup>15</sup>

On a more detailed level, Emecen has published an *avâriz icmal* (summary) register dated 1056/1646 for *Kayacık kazası* in the *liva* of Saruhan in western Anadolu, with a brief but useful introduction.<sup>16</sup> Ünal used an *avâriz mufassal* (detailed) register for Harput for the year 1056/1646-47 in conjunction with other sources in order to be able to chart the increase and the decrease in the population of Harput and the relative size and wealth of Muslim and non-Muslim populations

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<sup>13</sup> Lütü Güçer; *XVI-XVII. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Hububat Meselesi ve Hububattan Alınan Vergiler*, (İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Yayını, İstanbul, 1964).

<sup>14</sup> He used MM457 / c.1590, MM4347 / c.1637/38, KK2583 / c.1637/38 for building up the tables.

<sup>15</sup> Bruce McGowan, "Osmanlı Avariz-nüzul Teşekkülü, 1600-1830", *VIII. TTK*, 3 volumes, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara 1981, vol.2; 1327-31. In this regard see also his *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe: Taxation, Trade and Struggle for Land, 1600-1800*; (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); "The Study of Land and Agriculture in the Ottoman provinces within the Context of an Expanding World Economy", *IJTS*, 2/1 (1981): 57-63.

<sup>16</sup> Feridun Emecen; "Kayacık Kazası Avariz Defteri", *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 12 (1982): 159-170. Emecen mistakenly gives its registration number in *Maliye Defterleri* section as 3378, as it should be MM 3387.



in the mid-seventeenth century, and has recently published this *avariz* register.<sup>17</sup> Özdemir used *avârizhâne* data taken from 9 different court registers of Harput dating from 1632 to 1710, and for Ankara from 14 different registers dated between 1607 and 1833 in an attempt to comment on the value of the *avârizhânes* data for demographic research on the empire as a whole.<sup>18</sup> Özel delivered a paper on the importance of the detailed *avâriz* registers for 17<sup>th</sup>-century Ottoman demographic history to the 12<sup>th</sup> International Turkish Historical Congress held in Ankara in 1994, and his recent studies on *avâriz* are of great value.<sup>19</sup>

Inalcik has touched upon *avâriz* and *nüzul*-related matters in several articles. In "Military and fiscal transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700", he deals firstly with the transformation of Ottoman military institutions and their inter-relations, and secondly with the transformation of the fiscal system, particularly the consequences of new taxation methods implemented during the century, including various *avâriz* levies. Lastly, he evaluates the Ottoman methods of tax collection in the period.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Mehmet Ali Ünal; "1646 Tarihli Avariz Defterine Göre 17. Yüzyıl ortalarında Harput", *T.T.K Belleten*, 51 (1987); 119-29; For the publication version of the register itself, see M. Ali Ünal: "1646 (1056) Tarihli Harput Kazası Avariz Defteri", *Ege Üniversitesi Tarih İnceleme Dergisi*, XII (İzmir 1997): 221-238. [Reprinted in M. Ali Ünal, *Osmanlı Devri Üzerine Makaleler-Araştırmalar*, Kardelen Kitabevi, Isparta, 1999: 119-169.] cf. Mustafa Öztürk, "Haleb Avârizhâne Defteri 1616", *OTAM*, 8 (Ankara 1997): 249-293.

<sup>18</sup> Rifat Özdemir; "Avariz ve gerçek hâne sayılarının Demografik tahminlerde kullanılması üzerine bazı bilgiler", X. *TTK* (1986), vol.4, (Ankara, 1993): 1581-1613.

<sup>19</sup> Oktay Özel, "17. Yüzyıl Osmanlı demografi ve iskan tarihi için önemli bir kaynak: 'mufassal' avâriz defterleri" *Paper presented at XII Turkish Historical Congress, 12-17 September 1994*, Ankara; "Nüfus Baskısından Krize: 16-17. Yüzyıllarda Anadolu'nun Demografi Tarihine Bir Bakış," Paper read at VIII. Türkiye'nin Ekonomik ve Sosyal Tarihi Uluslararası Kongresi (Bursa, 18-21 Haziran 1998); 'Avâriz ve cizye Defterleri' in Sevkettin Pamuk ed. *Osmanlı'da Bilgi ve İstatistik*, Ankara: Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü Yay, forthcoming (2000). I would like to thank Dr Oktay Özel of Bilkent University, Ankara, for providing with me a copy of his manuscripts.

<sup>20</sup> Article in *Archivicum Ottomanicum*, 6 (1980): 283-337.



The most extensive assessment so far of *avariz* levies is that by Linda Darling in her study *Revenue-raising and legitimacy: tax collection and finance administration in the Ottoman empire 1560-1660*.<sup>21</sup> Basing her comments largely on an *ahkam defteri* dated 1043-49/1633-40 (MM2576), she examined the administration of these taxes and stressed their potential for population estimates, although she herself did not utilise them for that purpose. Her study concentrates on institutional and monetary history, showing how the detailed working system of record-keeping, procedural continuity, provision of justice for financial matters made the Ottoman financial administration a bulwark of stability in a period of disturbance. Although her examination of the process of tax assessment by survey is impressive, her attempt to evaluate the figures found in these registers is too general. Her approach is not that of the detailed case study offered here and her conclusions must be tested against such specific research.<sup>22</sup> Through her work one can obtain a sense of the purposes of Ottoman administration and its approach to the people under its rule, but primarily from a centrally-determined, empire-wide perspective. This raises many new questions. This present thesis, focusing exclusively on the *avâriz* and *nüzul* system in the provincial area of Karaman, tests her more general assumptions, investigates a local situation and complements her more general approach with a specific area study. It uses finance department records in conjunction with the *şer'iyye sicilleri* and other sources to examine specific problems and centre-periphery relations in the Ottoman empire,

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<sup>21</sup> New York, 1996. This work originated as a doctoral dissertation with the more specific title 'The Ottoman finance department and the assessment and collection of the *cizye* and *avâriz* taxes, 1560-1660', PhD University of Chicago, 1990. She also described *avâriz defters* briefly in "Avariz Tahriri: Seventeenth and Eighteenth century Ottoman survey registers", *TSAB*, 10 (1986); 23-26.

<sup>22</sup> For a critical evaluation of Darling's study, see Rifa'at Ali Abou-el-Haj, review in *JNES*, 59/2 (April 2000), p. 156-157.

a method which will eventually make possible detailed comparisons between periods and between provinces of the empire.

### **1.3 Sources for the present study**

The materials used in preparing this thesis fall into two categories: first, archival sources, both published and unpublished; second, modern scholarship, particularly addressing *avâriz* levies and *avâriz*-related taxes in the Ottoman empire. The latter has already been discussed in section 1.2 above. Section 1.3.1 below covers Ottoman tax surveys generally and the origins and nature of *avâriz* levies. There then follows in 1.3.2 a detailed description of the *avâriz* and other registers used for this study.

#### **1.3.1 Ottoman tax surveys**

This section, begins by reviewing the traditional Ottoman tax assessment method, the *tahrir*, which was carried out at varying intervals to determine the vast majority of revenues from land for tax collection and distribution purposes. The *tapu tahrir* was the standard assessment record until the end of the sixteenth century. From the beginning of the seventeenth century this traditional *tahrir* record was gradually replaced by the *avâriz* survey(s).

##### **1.3.1.1 *Tahrir* surveys, 1400-1600**

*Tahrir* is the technical term for the written record of Ottoman tax surveys; the term is derived from an Arabic verb, which denotes 'writing'. *Tahrir* was used as the basis of the Ottoman financial administration from the fifteenth to the turn of seventeenth century for the assessment of a number of types of state revenue. *Tahrir defters* are, in nature, and often referred to, as tax survey registers. The



*tahrirs* were both recorded and kept in the *defter-i hakani* (imperial registers) in Istanbul. They were also used as a guide to establishing legal claims to the land or levels of tax in case of dispute, or to determine the amount of taxes due from the individual peasants and their collectors from the military class.<sup>23</sup>

*Tahrir* registers have been widely studied and have yielded much information about the procedure of tax assesment and collection. The first fact that emerges is that the Ottoman administration was expert at keeping detailed financial records and had a well-established tradition of assesment which must have contributed significantly to the successful replacement of *tapu tahrir* by the *avâriz tahriri* in the seventeenth century. There were three types of *tapu tahrir* which were mostly compiled during the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries; *mufassal* (detailed registers), *icmal* (summary registers) and *evkaf defterleri* (the accounts of pious endowments). Each type existed in two copies, one of which remained in the Ottoman central administration, while the other was lodged with the relevant local area. The *mufassal* (detailed) *tahrir* lists all tax-payers and their status area by area, specifying the taxes to which they were liable, such as *öşür* (tithes), *resm-i çift*, *resm-i bennak*, *ispence* (farm taxes) and the *cizye* (Islamic poll-tax) where appropriate. These *defters* were organized according to the administrative districts

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<sup>23</sup> For a full description of *tahrirs*, see Ömer L. Barkan. "Türkiye'de İmparatorluk Devirlerinin Nüfus ve Arazi Tahrirleri ve Hakana Mahsus İstatistik Defterleri", *IFM*, vol.1, no.1 (1940):20-59; vol.2, no.2 (1941):214-247; "Research on the Ottoman Fiscal Surveys, " in *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East*, ed. Michael A. Cook (London:Oxford University Press, 1970):163-171; "Tahrir Defterlerinin İstatistik Verimleri Hakkında bir Araştırma", in *IV. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, (Ankara, 10-14 Kasım 1940): 290-294; "Tarihi Demografi Araştırmaları ve Osmanlı Tarihi", *Tarih Kongresi*, X (1953):1-26; Halil İnalcık,; *Hicri 835 Tarihli Suret-i Defter-i Sancak-i Arnavid*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Ankara 1987); "Ottoman Methods of Conquest.", *SI*, II (1954): 104-129; "Ottoman State: Economy and Society, 1300-1600" in *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*, Part I, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994): 132-142; Layoş Fekete, "Türk Vergi Tahrirleri", *T.T.K Belleten*, II (1947): 299-328; Feridun Emecen, "Sosyal Tarih Kaynağı Olarak Osmanlı Tahrir Defterleri" in *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Araştırma Merkezi, Tarih ve Sosyoloji Seminer 28-29 Mayıs 1990*, Ayır Basım, (İstanbul, 1991); cf. Surayya Faroqhi, "Tahrir", *EI<sup>2</sup>*, X (1998): 112-113.



of the area concerned. Given that each area newly incorporated into the Ottoman state often retained many tax peculiarities from the pre-conquest period, *tahrirs* were usually prefaced by a copy of the *kanunname* (code of local taxation practices, known as *sancak* or *liva kanunnamesi*) for the *liva* in question. *Mufasssal tahrirs* also list what revenues are to be assigned to a military or administrative grant (the *timar*, or larger units) or whether they were assigned as *evkaf* (endowments) to the upkeep of a pious foundation. Thus they provide information on both the sources and destinations of revenue.<sup>24</sup>

The second type of *tahrir* is the *icmal*, or summary version of the data contained in the *mufasssal defterleri*. As this was mainly for the purpose of revenue distribution, it records only the amounts assessed without the detailed individual liabilities, but it is precise about the assignment of *timar* revenues by identifying the names of the holders of revenues. Only the total number of the tax-paying population of the area is recorded in the *icmal defters* for each settlement. The *icmal* may also record groups exempt from specific taxation in return for special services to the Ottoman administration, such as *menzilci* (those who maintained post stations and post horses), *tuzcu* (salt makers), *derbendci* (guardians of mountain passes) etc.<sup>25</sup>

The third type of *tahrir* is the *evkaf defterleri* (registers of pious endowments) which lists revenues set aside for pious foundations in particular districts.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Faroqhi, "Tahrir", p. 113; Inalcik, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest", p. 111; Günday, "Tahrir Defterleri": 277-279; Afyoncu, "Defterhâne", (DVIA), pp. 100-104.

<sup>25</sup> Darling, *Revenue-Raising*, p. 33; for a published version, see 487 *Numaralı Muhasebe-i Vilâyet-i Anadolu Defteri, 937-1530*, i-ii, (Ankara 1993-94).

<sup>26</sup> For pious foundations in Istanbul, see e.g. Ö. L Barkan and Ekrem Hakki Ayverdi, 953/1546 *Tarihli İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri*, (Istanbul 1970).



The questions of when and how, and how often the *tahrirs* were carried out were addressed by Barkan and Inalcik in their numerous works. The Ottoman use of the *tahrir* system dates certainly from the reign of Bayezid I (1389-1402) and possibly from the time of Orhan Bey (1326-1361).<sup>27</sup> A new *tahrir* was usually carried out for a given region immediately after its incorporation into the Ottoman state, and again on the accession of a new sultan. Thereafter, in principle, a new *tahrir* would be made every thirty years<sup>28</sup>, or at least once a generation, according to Lütfi Paşa's *Asafname* of 1543. They renewed the *defter* that became out of date. Some *tahrirs* were made in response to petitions from the tax-paying population requesting such a survey from the central government. Some were made in order to implement new types of regulations in a given area, or because of changes over time in a given province.<sup>29</sup> In practice, intervals between *tahrirs* for a given region varied considerably.<sup>30</sup>

*Tahrir defters* were no longer compiled systematically after the reign of Murad III (1574-1595), under whom the last general *tahrir* was made covering most of the empire. Individual *tapu tahrirs* were occasionally made for specific purposes in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, mainly where the *timar* system remained

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<sup>27</sup> Barkan, "Nüfus Tahrirleri", p.33 ; Inalcik, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest", p. 109.

<sup>28</sup> "...Benim devletlu hüncarim, tahrir-i memleket gayet lazimdir. Otuz yilda bir kere tahrir-i memleket kanundur. Bu hususa takayyud lazimdir. Benim devletlu hüncarim, gayet dindar müslüman adamlar tayin olunub cümle memalik-i mahrusa bir ugurdan tahrir lazimdir. ... sen ki vezir-i azamsin hat-i hümayun -i se'adet makrunim vusulinde memalik-i mahrusami müceddeden hakk-u adl üzere tahrir ittuesin." quoted in Barkan, "Nüfus Tahrirleri", p.31.

<sup>29</sup> Barkan, "Nüfus Tahrirleri", p.31, pp. 35-36; Inalcik, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest", p. 110; Faroqhi, "Tahrir", p.112; Günday, "Tahrir Defterleri ile Mukataa Defterleri", p. 277.

<sup>30</sup> Faroqhi, "Tahrir", p.113; Darling, *Revenue-Raising*, pp. 29-34.



significant and revenues needed to be allocated to *timar* holders.<sup>31</sup> In general, however, *tapu tahrirs* were no longer the main form of provincial tax assessment.

### 1.3.1.2 *Avâriz tahriri*, 1600-1700

The growing importance of *tahrir* surveys to assess liability for *avâriz* and related levies is a feature of the first decades of the seventeenth century and is a significant part of the 'fiscal transformation', as is the increasing importance of *cizye* assessment registers.<sup>32</sup> The strains of the Safavid and particularly the Hungarian wars, coinciding with inflationary pressures from the 1580s and the provincial disorder in the *celâli* period, had shown the need for a more reliable system of cash collection directly into the central treasury. Non-*timar* (i.e. non-cavalry) troops for siege warfare needed to be recruited and paid from central resources. One obvious means of raising increased revenue was to accelerate the process of converting extraordinary levies in kind or services, collectively termed *avâriz-i divaniye ve tekalif-i örfiye*, to regular levies in cash, and to systematise those already paid in cash.<sup>33</sup> By c.1660 such *avâriz* levies comprised c.20% of the annual treasury revenue, 'the largest single source of central treasury income'<sup>34</sup> and a regular, reliable collection system was in force. As with the previous *tapu*

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<sup>31</sup> Barkan, "Nüfus Tahrirleri", p. 36; Faroqhi, "Tahrir", p.113. Despite the lack of the new *tahrir* surveys, the Imperial Registry (Defterhâne-i Amire) continued maintaining carefully-kept daily records (*rûznamçes*) of *timars* and new *timar* assessments throughout the next three centuries. See Howard, "The Historical Development of the Ottoman Imperial Registry (Defter-i Hakanî): Mid-Fifteenth to Mid-Seventeenth Centuries", *AO*, 11 (1986): 213-30; cf. Erhan Afyoncu, *Osmanlı Devlet Teşkilâtında Defterhâne-i Âmire (XVI-XVIII. Yüzyıllar)*, (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Marmara Üniversitesi, İstanbul, 1997): 27-38.

<sup>32</sup> On *cizye* assessment registers as well as the system itself, see Darling, *Revenue-Raising*, pp. 81-118.

<sup>33</sup> See İnalcık, "Military and Fiscal Transformation", pp. 311-317; Darling, *Revenue-Raising*, pp. 2-16, 22-48, 81-118; "Ottoman Fiscal Administration: Decline or Adaptation?" *JEEH*, 26/1 (1997): 157-177.



*tahrir* system, there were two forms of *avâriz* registers, the detailed *mufassal* assessment and the summary *icmal*, both of which are described in section 1.3.2 below.

### 1.3.1.3 *Avâriz* levies, origin and types

The term *avâriz* as used by the Ottoman administration originally denoted various types of levy set by the central government in the sultan's name, and are therefore referred to, in full, as *avâriz-i divaniye*. *Avâriz-i divaniye* and the closely related *tekalif-i örfiye* were blanket terms for a large number of dues which began as extraordinary levies originally paid in cash, kind or services according to the needs of the government and the circumstances of the community upon which they were levied.<sup>35</sup> They originated as emergency levies during the time of war, and were payable by all Ottoman tax-payers, urban and rural, Muslim and non-Muslim. Built into the system were exemptions for particular services rendered, and some flexibility to take into account the individual's ability to pay.

## Origin

Although we do not know precise dates for the archival documents used by Osman Turan concerning the Anadolu Selçuks state,<sup>36</sup> the written evidence from a

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<sup>34</sup> Darling, *Revenue-Raising*, p. 27; cf. also Darling, "Ottoman Fiscal Administration", p. 162.

<sup>35</sup> Barkan, "avâriz", p. 13; Genç, "XVIII. Yüzyıl'da Osmanlı Ekonomisi ve Savaş", *Yapıt*, 4 (1984), p. 58; Tabakoğlu, *Gerileme Dönemine Girerken Osmanlı Maliyesi*, p. 118; Darling, *Revenue-Raising*, p. 87.

<sup>36</sup> "...vergilerin artırılmasında gayret etmesi, mersûmatı, mutad' avâriz, yeni tekâlif ve müsaderelerde kuvvetli ve zayıf arasında fark gözetmemesi ve reayanın kudreti nisbetinde tahsilat talebinde bulunması,...." Cited in Osman Turan, *Türkiye Selçukluları Hakkında Resmî Vesikalar: Metin, Tercüme ve Araştırmalar*, (Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayını VII. Seri-No.32, Ankara, 1958), p. 21; "...bundan dolayı onlar bütün divan tekâlif, avâriz ve hâdisâtından muâf ve müsellemdirler..." p. 59; "... avâriz vergisinin taksimi sırasında herkese kudreti nisbetinde bir vergi (vucuh) tarhedip



number of documents he used suggest that the *avâriz* taxes were certainly levied by the Selçuks. Turan's evaluation of these documents suggest that they date from 717/1316. From his account it appears that the Ottoman *avâriz* levies took their origin from the Anadolu Selçuk state.

There is evidence for the existence of *avâriz* levies in the Ottoman empire as early as the reign of Murad I (1361-1389). Paradoxically, this comes from details of exemptions from such levies. A *vakfiye* (foundation document for a pious endowment) dated Receb 767/March 1366 mentions the exemption from the *avâriz-i divaniye* levies.<sup>37</sup> Similar exemptions appear in documents from 1383/4, 1402, 1404, 1415, 1415, and 1425.<sup>38</sup> The earliest mention of rules and regulations for the *avârizhâne* system occurs in the *Karaman kanunnamesi* of 924/1518,<sup>39</sup> although Barkan and Akgündüz believe that this *kanunname* really dates from the time of Bayezid II (1481-1512), or even Mehmed II (1451-1481).<sup>40</sup> Specific evidence for the operation of the *avârizhâne* system for non-military purposes in the reign of Bayezid II is given by the historian Solakzade, who states that one

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zengin-fakir arasında fark gözetmemesi...", p. 178. On the nature of the documents, see, *ibid.* pp. 13, 16-18.

<sup>37</sup> Mustafa Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin İktisadî ve İctimâî Tarihi*, vol 1, (İstanbul, 1979), p. 517.

<sup>38</sup> Pál Fodor, "The Way of a Seljuq Institution to Hungary: The Cerehor", *Acta Orientalia Academiae Hungariae*, 38 (1984), p. 374-75; cf. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV-XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası: Vakıflar-mülkler-mukataalar*, (İstanbul, 1952), p. 276; Süheyl Ünver, "Yıldırım Bayezid oğlu İsa'nın bir emri", *T.T.K. Belleten*, XI/42 (1947), p. 337; cf. Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches sur les actes des regnes des sultans Osman, Orkhan, et Murad I*, (Monachii, 1967), pp. 137, 175, 195.

<sup>39</sup> Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *XV ve XVI. Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Zirai Ekonominin Hukukî ve Mâlî Esasları, Kanunlar*, (İstanbul: Burhâneddin Matbaası, 1943), p. 41; Ahmet Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri ve Hukukî Tahlilleri: Yavuz Sultan Selim Devri Kanunnâmeleri*, vol 3, (İstanbul, 1991), pp.305-351. Particular information on *avâriz*, see '*Kanun-i Avâriz der Memâlik-i Karaman*', p. 325-26; Mehmet Akif Erdoğan, "Karaman Vilâyeti Kanunnâmeleri", *OTAM*, 1993, pp. 467-516. Especially see p. 490; cf. Bruce McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe*, p. 107.

<sup>40</sup> Barkan, *Kanunlar*, p. 41; Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnâmeleri*, p. 306-307.



man from every 20 *avârizhâne*, together with 25 *akçe* from each tax house were collected in order to help repair damage caused to Istanbul by the devastating earthquake of 1500.<sup>41</sup>

A clear statement on the regularity of *avâriz* levies is found in Lütü Paşa's *Asafnâme* of 1543. It was not to be an annual collection, but levied only every 4-5 years.

... ve re'ayadan 4-5 yılda bir 20'er akçe alına Sultan Selim Han Aleyhi Rahmetü ve'l gufran zamanında donanmaya giden asker-i islam'a beksimed baha deyü almışlar amma her yıl olmaya; eyü nesne değildir. Taki onlara güç olmaya ve re'ayaya güç gelmeye. Avâriz dedikleri mal-i hays oldur ...<sup>42</sup>

It is also clear that exemptions from *avâriz* levies were granted from an early stage. An *ahkam defteri* (register of outgoing orders) of 906/1501 refers to exemptions for *derbendci* duties.

"Samakov kadısına hüküm yazıla ki; şimdiki hâlde kapulu derbend kâfirlerinden dârende-i fermân-i hümayûn Istoya ve Milo nâm zimmîler Dergâh-i mu'allâma gelüp şöyle arz itdiler ki, bunlara teklîf-i avâriz olunup dahl ü ta'arruz olunur imiş. Eyle olsa bundan evvel bunlara hüküm-i şerif virilmişdür ki; "Ol derbendi görüp ve gözedüp mâdâm ki hizmetlerinde kusûrları olmaya, avâriz-i divaniyyeden emîn, mu'âf ve müsellemler olalar" diyü/emr itmişdüm/. İmdi gerekdür ki, sen dahı bunları avâriz'a katmayasız ve katturmayasız, eğer nesnelerin almışlar ise, hüküm idüp girü alıviresiz, şöyle bilesiz. Tahrîren fî evâhir-i Zilka'de sene sitte ve tis'a-mie."<sup>43</sup>

<sup>41</sup> "Istanbul hisarının ve sair yıkılmış olan mevzilerin tamir ve termimi için müşavere olundu. Bunun üzerine 20 evden bir adam ve ev başına 25'er akçe takdir ile mutemed bir adam tayin edilerek, şehir tamir ve terminine karar verildi." Cited in Solak-zâde Mehmed Hemdemi Çelebi, *Solak-zâde Tarihi*, Dr. Vahid Çabuk (ed.), (Kültür Bakanlığı Yayını, vol. 1, Ankara, 1989), p. 437; cf. Pál Fodor, "The Way of a Seljuq Institution to Hungary: The Cerehor", *Acta Orientalia Academiae Hungariae*, 38 (1984), p. 383; Mustafa Nuri Paşa, *Netayicu'l-Vukuat (Kurumları ve Örgütleriyle Osmanlı Tarihi)*, vols I-II, Neşet Çağatay (eds), (Ankara, 1992), p. 72.

<sup>42</sup> Lütü Paşa *Asafnâmesi (Yeni Bir Metin Tesisi Denemesi)*, Mübahat Kütükoğlu ed., (Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarih Araştırmaları Merkezi, Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımı, İstanbul, 1991), p. 34; cf Lütü Paşa, *Asafname*, (Istanbul, 1326/1908), p. 24.

<sup>43</sup> Cited in İlhan Şahin-Emecen Feridun, *Osmanlılarda Divân-Bürokrasi-Ahkâm: II. Bâyezid Dönemine Ait 906/1501 Tarihli Ahkâm Defteri*, (Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, İstanbul, 1994), p.30, entry 105. For some other entries regarding *avâriz* levies in general see 40-139, 41-144, 43-154, 60-212, 63-222, 65-231, 68-242, 71-254, 80-284, 84-300, 104-375, 105-379, 110-396, 116-423, 120-438, 126-455, 130-470, 130-471.



From this it can be said that *avâriz* were levied once in the reign of Selim I, and thereafter every four or five years at a rate of 20 *akçe* per head from the reign of Selim I (1512-1520) onwards according to the existing *avârizhânes* system of tax assesment units. Taking Solak-zâde's account into consideration, together with Abdurrahman Vefik<sup>44</sup> and an entry in *Ahkam Defteri* dated 906/1501, it becomes clear that the *avâriz* levies and the *avârizhâne* system were certainly in existence at least as early as the reign of Bayezid II.

### Types

In the sixteenth century the *avâriz* appears intermittently as a cash tax. Apparently the *nüzul* levies throughout their existence were associated with the *avâriz*, as another wartime tax mostly levied in kind- usually as barley or meat needed for a military campaign either being planned or one that was already in progress. At an early stage, *avâriz* and *nüzul* seemingly constituted alternatives, that is, in a given year one location might be confronted with either a demand for cash (*avâriz akçesi*), or else a demand for deliveries in kind (*nüzul*). In McGowan's definition, the *avâriz* was the surrogate for the *nüzul*, and vice versa, and therefore until the late sixteenth century these taxes were levied alternatively, rather than simultaneously, on the same *avârizhânes*. Archival documents as well as the existing studies show that the *nüzul* was, in general, a levy in kind but not always and not always collected everywhere. When the Ottoman central administration proposed the *nüzul* collection for a given year, it was collected in some locations

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<sup>44</sup> "... Devletin devr-i istilasında hazine-i amire ve ihtiyatıyesinde mevcud nukud ve hasılatı masarîf-i seferiyeyi daima tekvine kâfi idi. Binaenaleyh muharebat için bu sûretle tarh-i tekâlîfe lüzüm görülmez idi. Fakat sonraları muharebeler tevali itmiş, iş pek büyümüş, nukud-i mevcude کافی gelememiş olduğundan esfar ve muharebatı icra edebilmek için bu yolda tekâlîf tarhına ihtiyac mes etmiştir ki bu ihtiyac onbirinci asır hicriden itibaren başlar..." cited in Abdurrahman Vefik, *Tekalif Kavaidi*, (Istanbul 1328-30), p. 70.



as a levy in kind and in others that were more distant from the centre of action, as the equivalent in cash, as the *avâriz*.<sup>45</sup> However, the wars, budgetary deficits and inflationary pressures of the seventeenth century resulted in the more frequent conversion of the *nüzul* into a money payment that was to be collected in the same year as the *avâriz*.<sup>46</sup>

Barkan has suggested that the original collections of the *avâriz* were probably in kind. The conversion of the *avâriz* to a cash tax would have accompanied the rise of the alternative irregular tax to be collected largely in kind - the *nüzul*. However, no example of the conversion of *avâriz* into a *nüzul* has yet been uncovered, because the *nüzul* was itself, at certain times and locations, a cash tax. Therefore, the rare appearance in the sixteenth century of the term *bedel-i avâriz* in place of *avâriz* ought to be interpreted differently. There is no indication in the earliest evidence on the Ottoman *avâriz* that its collection was in any other form than cash.<sup>47</sup>

However, having said that, the term *avâriz* is itself seen by Barkan as synonymous with *avâriz-i divaniye*, and the obligation of supplying such provisions was only one of a number of ways in which the tax-paying subjects were asked to assist in the war effort. It was varied according to the government needs which resulted in certain demands to which the term *avâriz* applied and was, therefore, regarded as 'accidental'.<sup>48</sup> Relying on Suceska, Finkel points out that the term *avâriz-i divaniye* extended to the performance of specific duties such as the transport of

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<sup>45</sup> McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe*, p. 106-7; Cf. Güçer, *Hububat Meselesi*, pp. 67-92.

<sup>46</sup> McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe*, p. 106-7; Faroqhi, "Crisis and Change, 1590-1699", p. 532;

<sup>47</sup> McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe*, p. 107.

equipment or the building of a bridge. However, Suceska was of the understanding that the term *avâriz* could only be used for one type of the *avâriz-i divaniye* levy, but is not synonymous with it.<sup>49</sup> The '*avâriz*' was defined in a 15<sup>th</sup> - century imperial order as a tax paid in time of war. Additionally, a number of other types of *avâriz* levies were also in place.<sup>50</sup> For example, *nüzul* and *sürsat* levies or their equivalent in cash, which were called *bedel*, or *kürekci* etc. were part of this system. By the period in which we first find mention of the *avâriz* in the Karaman *kanunnamesi* (1518) and Aydın (1528-9), the Ottoman *nüzul* also already exists. Therefore the sixteenth-century term *bedel-i avâriz* signalled a substitution of cash for kind, i.e. a change from the way in which it was originally collected before the appearance of the *nüzul*. Once the *nüzul* also began to be collected, largely as a cash tax, at the end of the sixteenth century, the need was felt for a new term to designate occasional levies of grain hence the appearance of the *sürsat* which is so frequently mentioned in the Ottoman records of the seventeenth century.<sup>51</sup>

McGowan highlights the following stages in the development of the *avâriz* and *nüzul* levies in the Ottoman empire;

- 1) The *avâriz* was an occasional tax in kind, and the *nüzul* was non-existent.
- 2) The *avâriz* was an occasional cash tax, and the *nüzul* an occasional tax in kind, and both were collected as alternatives.

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<sup>48</sup> Barkan, "avâriz", p.13; Finkel, *The Administration of Warfare*, p. 131-132; Bowen, 'awarid', *El*<sup>2</sup>, p. 760.

<sup>49</sup> Finkel, *The Administration of Warfare*, p. 132; cf. Suceska, "Die Entwicklung der Besteuerung durch die avarız-ı divâniye und die tekâlif-i örfiye im Osmanischen Reich während des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts", *Südost Forschungen*, XXVII (1968): 89-130.

<sup>50</sup> Aryeh Shmuelevitz, *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire in the Late 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries: Administrative, Economic, Legal, and Social Relations as Reflected in the Reponsa*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1984), p. 94 and n.41.

<sup>51</sup> McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe*, p. 107-8.



- 3) The monetization of the *nüzul*, and the introduction of simultaneous collections.
- 4) The annualization of both taxes at established rates and their collection in tandem.<sup>52</sup>

In the light of existing information it is necessary to define the major *avâriz-i divaniye* levies here in order to be able to get a better understanding of the subject.

**Avâriz.** In this thesis the term *avâriz* is used to refer to the assessment in cash i.e. *avâriz akçesi* which can be used as a general term for all the *avâriz* levies.<sup>53</sup>

**Nüzul.** *Nüzul* was a levy of provisions, such as barley and flour. The *nüzul defters* list only the amounts of flour and barley to be paid per *avârizhâne* in each *kaza*. *Nüzul* registers list the amounts of provisions or their equivalents in cash to be paid on the basis of *avârizhânes* in each *kaza* in the *livas* within the province. The registers of this kind were compiled for either one part or both parts, i.e. Rumeli and Anadolu, of the Empire. From these records, it is possible to find the amounts of *nüzul* and *sürsat* taxes, or their equivalents, in cash that the tax-paying subject, the *reaya*, in the province of Karaman paid.<sup>54</sup>

**Sürsat.** *Sürsat* (compulsory sale to meet the needs of the army) was also an obligation which required the tax-paying subjects to bring and sell their provisions, such as barley, flour, sheep, fat and honey, at specific locations.<sup>55</sup>

**Kürekçi** (oarsmen) for the navy. *Kürekçi* was also a levy under the heading of *avâriz-i divaniye* and such services and duties could also be asked to be provided as cash in the name of *kürekçi bedeli* under the name of *avâriz akçesi*.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe*, p. 109.

<sup>53</sup> Darling, *Revenue-Raising*, p. 87.

<sup>54</sup> On *nüzul*, see Güçer, *Hububat Meselesi*, pp. 67-92.

<sup>55</sup> On *sürsat*, see Güçer, *Hububat Meselesi*, pp. 93-114.

Additional information on *kürekçi* comes from an entry in the Anonymous History of Ottoman Dynasty/Anonim Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman, dated between 1481 and 1512 which shows exactly when the *kürekçi* levy was collected for the first time in the empire. The entry is as follows;

"Andan sonra Sultan-i selâtinî'l-Islam 'azze nasruhu hazretleri sene-i mezbure Rebi'ul-evvelinin zikr olan Kal'a-i Muton'dan Koron kal'ası fethine müteveccih olub, vusul bulduğı gibi ita'at idüb, miftahın gönderdi. Ol dahi zabt olunub memalik-i Islam'a rabt olunduktan sonra Hüdâvendigâr menşur u muzaffer İstanbul'a gelüb hoş-güvar-i saltanatile 'ale'd-devam olub turdi. Ol esnada öte canibden Venedik kafirleri Krançe'den [sic] yardım gemilerin alub, gelüb Midillü üzerine aşub toplar ile döğmeye başladılar. Ol zamana değin Azeb ve Kürekçi avâriz olmuş değildi. Acele ile sefer vaki' olmağın Azeb ve Kürekçi yazılıb fi'l-hal donanma gemilerine koyulub gönderildi.[September 1500]"<sup>57</sup>

This information enables us to state that the *avâriz* levy of *Azab* and *Kürekçi* was implemented for the first time during the campaign on the island of Midilli in the reign of Bayezid II, in the year 1500.

### 1.3.2 *Avâriz* and *Nüzul* Registers<sup>58</sup>

The most useful source of information concerning the *avâriz* levies in the province of Karaman is the series of unpublished *avâriz* and *nüzul defterleri* in the collections of *Maliyeden Mudevver* and *Kamil Kepeci* of the *Başbakanlık Arşivi* in Istanbul, cited here as MM and KK. The *Maliyeden Mudevver* and *Kamil Kepeci* classifications are contained in over 200 volumes, dating from the early 1600s to

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<sup>56</sup> Inalcik, "Military and Fiscal Transformation", p. 314.

<sup>57</sup> Faruk Söylemez, *Anonim Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman (1481-1512)*, (Unpublished Ph.D Thesis, Erciyes Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Kayseri, 1995), p.65. I would like to thank Prof. Ali Aktan of Erciyes University for bringing my attention to this study during my research programme in Kayseri, in 1999.

<sup>58</sup> Selected excerpts from some of these sources are included in the appendices, in transliteration.



the 1830s. Several volumes are used in this study, dating particularly from 1620 to 1700. They form the principal sources for data in Chapters 2, 3 and 4.

Most of the *avâriz defterleri* in the *Başbakanlık Arşivi* are *icmal* (summary) registers showing only the total number of *avârizhânes*, and the amount of money collected. As far as the province of Karaman is concerned, we possess 49 extant *avâriz icmal* registers for the period 1620 to 1699; one extant *mufassal* (detailed) *avâriz defter* each for the *livas* of Kayseri and Konya, both of which are dated 1052/1642; and one *nüzul / bedel-i nüzul defteri* which cover both Rumeli and Anadolu, dated as 1628.<sup>59</sup>

*Avâriz* and *nüzul* registers were kept by the *Mevkufat kalemi*,<sup>60</sup> which organized its records by the principal administrative divisions of *vilayet*, *liva* and *kaza*. Those *avâriz icmal defters* which cover both Rumeli and Anadolu, as well as *mufassal* registers for smaller areas (including the Kayseri and Konya *mufassal defters* MM7063 and MM3074 for 1642) are now listed in the *Maliyeden müdevver* classification. All other *avâriz defters* are listed in the *Kamil Kepeci* classification.

Unfortunately, very few *mufassal defters* have survived. For the Karaman province, the only two available for the seventeenth century are the Kayseri and Konya registers, as mentioned above. The Kayseri register is in a poor condition.<sup>61</sup>

These detailed registers list the following categories of information; *mahalle* by

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<sup>59</sup> Registers used in this study are listed in the bibliography.

<sup>60</sup> Finance bureau that recorded income from properties temporarily in the possession of the treasury; in charge of the *avâriz* levies.

<sup>61</sup> See Appendix 3.

*mahalle*, *karye* by *karye* or *kaza* by *kaza*: number of *avârizhânes*, Muslim and non-Muslim *hânes* in a *mahalle*, the socio-economic level of the people and their name, their tax status and whether, for any reason, they were exempt from paying *avâriz* levies.<sup>62</sup> Had such registers survived for regular intervals, they would have been some particularly rich source of data. Therefore, with the two exceptions above, the *defters* I have consulted in the *Maliyeden Müdevver* and *Kamil Kepeci* classifications are summary registers, showing the total number of *avârizhânes* by *kaza* for the whole province.

**Content of the registers:** The *avâriz icmal defters* give the name and the date of the register in a fairly standard formula, such as: "*Defter-i hânehâ-i avâriz-i mahallat ve kura-i mezburin tabi-i Kayseriye-i merkumin der elviye-i mesfurin an vilâyet-i karaman ber muceb-i tahrir-i cedit Mevlâna Şerci el-vaki fi sene 1051*".<sup>63</sup>

The text of the register is usually preceded with the above given formula for the registers covering both the Anadolu and Rumeli provinces. At the beginning of the text, the title of the *defter* and the dates are repeated, after which follows the enumeration of the *vilâyets* one by one, with the names of the *livas* (or *sancaks*) and *kazas* in each.

The level of detail or comment may vary from register to register, but as a standard feature at the end of every *kaza* in any given *liva*, the total number of

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<sup>62</sup> People of low income call in *avâriz* term *edna* paid half as much as those of middling income (*evsat*), who paid half as much as the richest (*âla*).

<sup>63</sup> MM2780.



*avârizhânes* is written in *siyakat* script and then in *divan rakamları* and also in many cases, in ordinary numbers.<sup>64</sup> There is no indication of whether *avârizhânes* were Muslim or Christian. It is known that each *avârizhâne* consisted of a number of individual 'real' households or *nefer* (individuals). However, the number of real households or *nefer* in an *avârizhâne* was not fixed. It varied from place to place and from time to time depending on the amount of the levy and on the socio-economic level of the district. In many cases, notes in the *avâriz* registers state how many real households, or *nefers*, constituted one *avârizhâne* in a given particular region at any given time.<sup>65</sup>

Summary registers do sometimes include individuals exempt from *avâriz* and *nüzul* taxes, but such exemptions are usually found in detail only in *mufassal* registers. Although it is not yet clear how valuable the summary *avâriz* registers are for demographic studies, the documents do give us some information from which we can make some estimate of population at the time (see chapter 2.2 below).

In most cases the *avâriz icmal defters* give the names of the tax collectors, and their occupations, with the date and month of their assignment, placed in the Islamic calendar. From the information given we are able to see whether the collectors were *kadı*, *sipahi*, or members of the *Yeniceri* troops etc. Identities of *avâriz* collectors and their status are discussed below, in chapter 4.

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<sup>64</sup> For example see appendix 3.

<sup>65</sup> E.g. MM3074 *Konya Livasi Mufassal Avâriz Defteri 1052/1642*. See discussion pp. 136-141 below.

The *avâriz icmal defterleri* also give the total amounts of money actually collected from each *kaza*, *liva* and the province of Karaman.<sup>66</sup> The rate of *avâriz akçesi* per *avârizhâne* is also given in these *defters* i.e. 300 *akçe*, 400 *akçe*, 600 *akçe*, 5 *kamil guruş* etc. In most cases the *defters* list *avârizhânes kaza* by *kaza* within the *livas* in the provinces, and then give the total of *avârizhânes* with the amount of money in *akçe* for the selected *liva*. The *defters* then give the results in a table form, in order to make sure that the total of *avârizhânes* and money is accurate.

In some cases the *defters* give information about the number of *kürekçi* collected for the navy, i.e. how many *avârizhânes* were supposed to send a *kürekçi*, and the total number for the province of Karaman at a given date.<sup>67</sup>

In most cases the *avâriz icmal defters* dating from 1650 to 1700 also give the amount of money collected in *bedel-i nüüzül* and list this in accord with *livas* and *kazas*, usually on the same page, but in some cases on different pages where the total *avâriz akçesi* were written either for a *liva*, *kaza* or the entire province.

The *avâriz defters* may also give the rate of *avâriz* and its total yield for the year in question in the different types of money in use during the century: *guruş-i tam*, *guruş-i kamil*, *guruş-i esedi*, and *nakdiye*. For instance, in KK2653, *Rumeli ve Anadolu eyaletleri avârizhâneleri defteri*, dated as 1073/1670, the amount of

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<sup>66</sup> E.g. MM1980-1061/1651 "Cem'an: Hâneha-i eyâlet-i karaman: hâne: 3412,25 akca: 1.364.900".

<sup>67</sup> MM2808 (1055/1645) "Der Vilâyet-i Karaman: ancak bu sene eyâlet-i mezburda vaki avâriz virur hânenin her 7 hânesinden 1 nefer kürekci olmak üzere avârizlari bedel-i ihrac ve tersane-i amireye i'sal oluna deyu kapucubaşı yaya Süleyman Ağa me'mur olunub ve her hânedan 15 er akçe kapucubaşıya dahi maaş tayin olunib emr ve defteri verilmiştir fi 8 Zilhicce sene 1054 ba hattı sahib-i devlet".



money collected from the *liva* of Kayseri is given in three different ways: 2609.5 *gurus-i tam*, 485 *gurus-i esedi*, and 1602 *nakdiye*. In MM3845, *Rumeli ve Anadolu eyaletleri hâne-i avâriz defteri*, dated as 1051/1641-42, the total *avârizhânes* for the *liva* of İçil is given as 201.25 and the rate as 'fi 5 *guruş-i kamil*' then the *defter* gives the total amount of money in *guruş-i kamil* as 1006.5, and in *akçe* as 80,530.

It is also clear from the phrase used in some *defters* "*ber vech-i peşin*" that the method of payment of the *avâriz akçesi* was cash. Some *defters* contain information about where the collected money is going to be spent. It is clear that some of the *avâriz* money collected was used in order to pay the Janissaries' salaries, *mevacibat*; '*be cihet-i mevacibat*' or '*be cihet-i mevacib-i yeniçeriyan ve cebeciyan ve gayruhu der muhafaza-i Azak havale şuden fermude fi 4 sevval sene 1080 300,000 akca*'.<sup>68</sup> This is listed either at the end of each separate *liva* or *kaza* entry, or collectively in tabular form for all *livas* and *kazas*, at the end of the larger unit section.

The *defters* may also give information on *menzilcis* and *menzilhânes* i.e. those responsible for post stations and post horses, and their total in different *livas* or *kazas*; on how many households were *menzilci*, and on how many of these were exempt from the *avâriz* taxes in a certain area.

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<sup>68</sup> KK2653, p. 51.

After c.1050/1640 the *defter*s also contain some notes relating to *iltizam* (tax-farming) arrangements. These notes occur either at the beginning of each *liva* or at the head of a *kaza* entry. The *iltizam* notes are discussed below, in chapter 4.

The separate *nüzul defterleri* only register the amount of flour and barley, or their equivalents in cash, to be paid on the basis of the *avârizhânes* in each *kaza* in the *liva* within the province. From these records, it is possible to find the amounts of *nüzul*, or their equivalents in cash that the tax-paying population, the *reaya*, paid in the province of Karaman, as well as the total for *avârizhânes* for each *kaza* and *liva*.

### 1.3.3. Mühimme defterleri

Another vital source of information concerning the *avariz* levies in the Ottoman Empire is the unpublished general registers of important affairs, *Mühimme defterleri*, in the *Başbakanlık Arşivi*.<sup>69</sup> The *Mühimme defterleri* are contained in 263 volumes, dating from 1553 to 1905. Several volumes were used in this study, particularly volumes 3, 5, 6, 12, and 90 for the 1550s and 1646/47.

The *Mühimme defterleri* contain the file copies of firmans (imperial orders and decrees), and replies to reports from all over the empire, including a summary of the incoming report or complaint with the text of the outgoing response. These specific orders, as well as the general imperial decrees, were dispatched to

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<sup>69</sup> On the *Mühimme Defterleri* see Uriel Heyd; "The Mühimme Defteri (Register of Decrees) a major source for the Study of Ottoman administration", in *Akten des vier und zwanzigsten Orientalisten-Kongress-München* (Herausgegeben Von H. Franke, Wiesbaden 1959), pp. 389-98: *Ottoman Documents on Palestine, 1552-1615: A Study of the Firman according to the Mühimme Defteri*, (Oxford, 1960): Mübahat Kütükoğlu, "Mühimme Defterlerindeki Muamele Kayıtları üzerine", in *Tarih Boyunca Diplomatiya ve Paleografya Semineri: 30 Nisan- 2 Mayıs 1986, Bildiriler*, (Istanbul 1988), pp.95-112.



provincial officials and judges, addressing many aspects of detail. Thus, *Mühimme defterleri* concern specific problems in the provinces of the empire and their intended solution. For this study, I searched for specific entries in the *Mühimme defterleri* regarding disputes over *avâriz* levies, the problems and potential solutions in a given time for the province of Karaman. Unfortunately, due to the number of volumes and the difficulty in locating isolated *avâriz* cases, it was not possible within the time limit available, to make a thorough systematic search of the *mühimme defterleri*.

#### 1.3.4 Şer'iyye sicilleri

The detailed records of Ottoman *şer'ia* (Muslim law) courts contain information on imperial administration, on affairs in towns and villages, and on taxes and taxation procedures, as well as on various other matters including loans, sales and price regulations, the *timar* system, theft, murder and other crimes, and agreements between guilds. The *kadı*, whose office maintained these *sicils*, was the major link connecting the central government with the mass of its citizens. All major imperial orders on any matter sent out to the provincial districts were addressed to the *kadı*, including those intended for local military-administrative authorities. All were copied into these registers.

Any matter requiring official resolution, registration, verification, or adjudication was thus potentially the domain of the *kadı*. In the case of any dispute between the tax-paying population and government officials, or between groups of local people, it was the *kadı's* duty to sort out the problem, and then to record it in the *sicils*. The *şer'iyye sicilleri* therefore give first-hand information on various

problems including disputes over *avâriz* payments and complaints by tax-collectors or by tax-payers.<sup>70</sup>

#### 1.4 The Ottoman province of Karaman

The Karaman Türkmén and the Karaman region played a very significant role in both Selçuk and Ottoman history, presenting each state with a major challenge to its claim to be the paramount Turkish military and political authority in the west and the centre of Anatolia. The Karamanid claim to independent sovereignty resulted in the establishment of the *Karaman Beyliği* after the disintegration of the Selçuk state, and was centred upon the latter's capital city, Konya. In this section some basic information will be given on the political history of the province of Karaman, the foundation of the *Karaman Beyliği* and the political relations between the two rival dynasties, the Karamanid and the Ottoman. Following that, the administrative divisions of the province of Karaman, under the Ottomans, will also be discussed.

##### 1.4.1 Establishment of Ottoman administration in the region

The Karaman region was incorporated into the Ottoman state by conquest in the period of 1468 to 1474.<sup>71</sup> It was an area with a strong identity, having been the

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<sup>70</sup> On complaints within the *avâriz* system according to *şer'iyye sicilleri* of Kayseri and Konya see Chapter 5. On the role of the *kadı* and the *şer'iyye sicilleri* generally, see İlber Ortaylı, "On the role of Ottoman Kadi in provincial administration," *Turkish Public Administration Annual*, 3 (1976): 1-21; Amy Singer, "Tapu Tahrir Defterleri and kadi sicilleri: a happy marriage of sources", *Tarih*, 1(1990): 95-125; Y. J. Seng, "The *şer'iyye sicilleri* of the Istanbul Müftülüğü as a source for the study of everyday life," *TSAB*, 15(1991): 307-25; *Şer'iyye Sicilleri*, (Türk Dünyası Vakfı publication vol 2, Istanbul 1988); Suraiya Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History: An introduction to the sources*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999): 55-57.

<sup>71</sup> Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 106; M. Akif Erdoğan, "Kanuni'nin İlk Yıllarında Karaman Vilâyeti", *TİD*, VII (İzmir 1993), p. 37; "Karaman Vilâyeti'nin İdari Taksimatı", *OA*, 12 (1992), p. 425.



nucleus of the 13<sup>th</sup>-century 'Yunan vilâyeti' of the Anatolian Selçuk state, containing their capital city Konya and the areas of Alaiye, Larende (Karaman), Ermenak, Aksaray, Niğde and Kayseri. It is probable that the Karamanid Türkmen were first settled in the area by the Selçuks in the wake of the Mongol invasions of the 1220s.<sup>72</sup> From around 1300 the region formed the basis for the independent Türkmen *beylik* of Karaman which in terms of size and the ability of its rulers dominated south-central Anatolia for well over a century. The Karamanids provided the strongest Türkmen challenge to the re-imposition of Ottoman rule in Anatolia after 1402 and particularly during the reign of Murad II (1421-51). In the 1430s and 1440s the constant threat posed by Ibrahim Bey of Karaman, at times acting in concert with the anti-Ottoman alliance in the Balkans led by the king of Hungary and the Byzantine emperor, obliged Murad II to wage continuous war on two fronts.<sup>73</sup> On Ibrahim's death, in 1464, a succession dispute among his sons provided an opportunity for Mehmed II to intervene. The Ottoman campaign of 1468 resulted in most Karamanid territory coming under Ottoman rule as the *beylerbeylik* of Karaman,<sup>74</sup> administered initially by Mehmed II's son Mustafa.<sup>75</sup> Subsequent attempts by Pir Ahmed and other sons of Ibrahim to recover Karaman with the aid of the Akkoyunlu sultan Uzun Hasan necessitated Ottoman campaigns in 1470 and 1471 to pacify the area. This was partly prompted by

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<sup>72</sup> On the origins of the Karaman Türkmen, see Faruk Sümer, "Karaman-Ogullari", *ET*<sup>2</sup>, vol.4 (1975), p. 619; Şihabeddin Tekindağ, "Karamanlılar", *IA*, (Istanbul 1952-54), pp.316-330; Mustafa Akdağ, *Türkiye'nin İktisadi ve İçtimai Tarihi*, vol. 1, (Ankara, 1979), pp. 94-97.

<sup>73</sup> Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire 1300-1481*, pp. 116-18.

<sup>74</sup> The date of establishment of Karaman *beylerbeyliği* is not clear. The most common ones are 1468, 1470, 1476, 1483 and 1512. See M. Akif Erdoğan, "Karaman Vilâyeti'nin İdari Taksimati", *OA*, 12 (1992), p. 426; cf. İnalcık, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 106; cf. D. Edgar Pitcher, *An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire*, (Leiden, 1972), pp. 54, 62, 63.

Mehmed II's campaign against Uzun Hasan in 1473 and his decisive victory at Otlukbeli, and it resulted in the definitive incorporation of Karaman in 1474 by the combined forces of Gedik Ahmed Paşa and *şehzade* (prince) Mustafa.<sup>76</sup> Karaman nevertheless remained for several years a particular trouble spot for the Ottoman government in Istanbul. After the death of *şehzade* Mustafa in 1474, Mehmed II's youngest son Cem Sultan was appointed governor in Konya and on the death of Mehmed II in 1481 he used the strength of his position there, and his contacts with the remaining sons of Ibrahim Bey who had taken refuge with Uzun Hasan, in his challenge to the succession of Bayezid II. Bayezid was forced to buy the support of one of these sons, the Karamanid Ishak Bey, by offering him to rule over the İçil region of Karaman.<sup>77</sup>

Karaman thus came into the Ottoman state as a sizeable geographical entity, with a large Türkmen population and a strong tradition of independent rule. Among the immediate steps taken to establish Ottoman authority was the forced exile to Istanbul of leading citizens and artisans of Konya in 1468 and of Aksaray in 1471. The documents of later periods confirm this policy of deportation as a tool of reorganisation of newly conquered areas' settlement pattern. For example, in 1572 one family out of every ten in the provinces of Karaman, Anatolia, Rum (Sivas) and Zulkadriye were to be sent to Kıbrıs (Cyprus) upon its conquest by the

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<sup>75</sup> Imber, *The Ottoman Empire*, pp. 192-194, 198-9.

<sup>76</sup> Imber, *The Ottoman Empire*, pp. 204-21; Selahattin Tansel, *Fatih Sultan Mehmed*, pp. 294-96.

<sup>77</sup> Reincorporated in 1483 on the death of Ishak Bey.



Ottoman Turks.<sup>78</sup> Tax concessions were granted to urban areas and to several Türkmen tribes who had provided manpower for anti-Ottoman forces, in an attempt to secure their loyalty to the new regime. That, at least, some part of this policy succeeded is indicated by a statement in the *tahrir defteri* of Konya, dated as 1493 and Kayseri 1500, that these cities were exempted from taxes 'on account of the faithfulness' which they had shown during the wars with Uzun Hasan.<sup>79</sup> Initially, Karaman was governed successively by the Ottoman *şehzades* Mustafa and Cem, in recognition of the province's past history and its strategic location in relation to the Akkoyunlu and Memluk states. However, it is significant that, probably due to fear of its potential as a major power base in future succession dispute, its capital Konya did not continue in the sixteenth century as one of the usual provincial residences of an Ottoman *şehzade*.

#### 1.4.2 Administrative organisation c. 1468-1700

The 'classical' Ottoman administrative system was firmly established in the province of Karaman by the 1580s in the reign of Murad III (1574-1595), when the last detailed *tahrir defter* for the province of Karaman was compiled on the *sancak-kaza* basis. This had been a gradual process, starting from the Ottoman take-over of the region in 1468. It is therefore necessary here to give some information on the 'classical' Ottoman administration, in order to get a better understanding of the subject.

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<sup>78</sup> H. Inalcik, "Ottoman methods of conquest", *SI*, II (1954), pp. 108, 118-19, 122-23; M. Akif Erdoğan, "Beyşehir ve Seydişehir kazalarından Kıbrıs Adasına sürülmüş Aileler", *TİD*, 11 (1996): 9-56.

<sup>79</sup> Inalcik, 'Ottoman methods of conquest', p. 108; cf. the extant *mufassal defteri* of *Konya Livası* dated 899/1493 (TT40); the extant *mufassal defteri* of *Kayseri Livası* dated 906/1500 (TT33).



A province (*eyâlet* or *vilâyet*) in Ottoman administrative practice was made up of *sancaks* (sub-provinces or main administrative units) under *sancakbeyis* (sub-province governors). Each province was governed by a *beylerbeyi* (governor-general). The *beylerbeyi* was resident at the centre of one of the *sancaks* forming the province, which was called a '*paşa sancağı*'. In the case of the province of Karaman, the *paşa sancağı* was Konya. The *beylerbeyi* of Karaman represented the executive power of the sultan on all matters in the administration of his *eyâlet*. As a governor-general, he was responsible for public security in his own *sancak*. He was also entitled to give decisions at the provincial *divan* (council), modelled on that of the capital, on matters concerning *sipahis* (cavalrymen) and the complaints of the people. In addition, the *beylerbeyi* was the commander of the provincial forces (*timarlı sipahis*) on campaign.<sup>80</sup>

The administrative province of Karaman, under Ottoman rule, was in two parts: one comprised the *liva* of İçil in the eastern part of the area, adjacent to the coast, and included Mud and its surroundings; and the other comprised of all the interior, and other regions, that together were called *haric/taşeli/dişel*. The boundaries of the province of Karaman varied significantly over time. In particular, after the conquest of Kıbrıs in 1570 the *liva* of İçil was separated from the rest of the province and joined to Kıbrıs, as stated in the 992/1584 *İçil livası kanunu*,<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> For the provincial administration and the role of the *beylerbeyi* on it, see İnalcık, "Eyâlet", *ET*<sup>2</sup>, vol. II (1963): 721-24; "The Provincial Administration and the *Timar* System" in *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age, 1300-1600*: 104-118; "Ottoman Methods of Conquest", p. 108; Metin Kunt, "Provincial Administration", in his *The Sultan's Servants. The Transformation of Ottoman Provincial Government, 1550-1650*, (New York 1983): 9-29.

<sup>81</sup> 992/1584 *İçil livası kanunu* in *TT128*: "*İçil sancağı kadimden Vilâyet-i Karaman'a tabi olup badehu Cezire-i Kıbrıs fetholunmağla ana ilhak olunup yine mabeynlerinde cari olan kanun Vilâyet-i Karaman kanunu olup halkının itiyad ve ihtiyaçları olan mevaddin lazim olanı Vilâyet-i Karaman'ın atik defterinde mukayyed olan kanunnameden ihrac olunup liva-i mezburun defterine kayd olunmuştur ki zikr olunur.*" Cited in Barkan, *Kanunlar*, p. 48.



although for practical survey purposes it was still listed in the Karaman registers, as '*tabi-i Kıbrıs*'.<sup>82</sup> The distinct status of İçil is clearly reflected in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century *avâriz* and *nüzul* registers that are used here, in this research.<sup>83</sup>

Selected registers from 1468, 1491, 1518, 1530 and 1590, when compared with evidence from 17<sup>th</sup>-century registers, provide a picture of the changing administrative division of Karaman. The first survey, of 1468, was carried out on the order of Mehmed II by the *emin* Muslihuddin and *katip* Kasim, immediately after the establishment of Ottoman administration over the Karamanid territory in 1468.<sup>84</sup> From the *Karaman Eyâleti Kanunnamesi* included in the register come details about the regulations in force at the time. In this first Ottoman survey, the province of Karaman consists of 11 *vilâyets* and 2 *nahiyes*.<sup>85</sup>

**Table 1.1: Administrative division of Karaman in 1468.**<sup>86</sup>

<i>Vilâyet</i>	<i>Nahiye</i>
Konya	Karahisar
Larende	Develu
Seydişehir ve Bozkir	
Beyşehir	
Akşehir	
Ilgin	
Niğde	
Sücaeddin ve Anduğu	
Ürgü	
Ereğli	
Aksaray ve Koçhisar	

<sup>82</sup> Tayyib Gökbiçin, "XVI. Asırda Karaman Eyâleti ve Larende (Karaman) Vakıf ve Muesseseleri.", *VD*, VII (Istanbul 1968), p.30-31.

<sup>83</sup> See below, Chapter 2 on *avârizhânes*.

<sup>84</sup> Konyalı, gives 1466 as the date of this register. For further information on the Ottoman Survey tradition, see the section above 1.3.1 on tapu tahrir surveys, 1400-1600.

<sup>85</sup> Ahmet Akgündüz, "Yavuz Sultan Selim Devrinde Karaman Eyâleti ve Sancakları.", in *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, vol 3 (Istanbul, 1991), p. 305; I.H Konyalı, *Konya Tarihi*, p.111; c.f TK 564, p. 1 and the following pages.

<sup>86</sup> Akgündüz, *Kanunnameler*, p.305; Konyalı, *Konya Tarihi*, p.111

Only from c.1530 does the familiar administrative terminology begin to emerge of *vilayet* (province), *sancak* or *liva* (sub-province), *kaza* (district, coterminous with the seat of a *kadı*), and *nahiye* (sub-district). Prior to that the registers show confusing terminology, similar to that already demonstrated by Gökbilgin for the Tokat-Sivas region, in that Tokat, Turhal, Sivas and Zile were all registered variously at different times as *nahiye*, *vilâyet*, *divan* or *cemaat*.<sup>87</sup> Generally speaking, the *vilâyets* listed in the 1468 Karaman register are those detailed as *kaza* in 1491 and as *liva* in the 16<sup>th</sup>-century registers. An example is Larendé: in the 1468 register it appears as *vilâyet*, it is not listed in the 1491 register at all, but in 1518 and 1530 it appears as *liva*. In the 1590 and in the 17<sup>th</sup> century registers it appears regularly as *kaza*. A different example is Karahisar and Develu, the only two areas listed as *nahiye* in 1468, but which appear as *kaza* in the 1530 register.<sup>88</sup> The unstable terminology of the early Karaman registers may be indicative by partly having a lack of regularity among the 15<sup>th</sup> and early 16<sup>th</sup>-century Ottoman survey officials generally. It may also be indicative of some uncertainty as to the best administrative division of the new province of Karaman.

The second Karaman survey was made 25 years later in the time of Bayezid II in 906/1491, by the *emin* ibn-i hatib Nasuh-zade Haydar and *katip* Ali.<sup>89</sup> According to this register the province consists simply of 15 *kazas*. Here the term *kaza* is

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<sup>87</sup> Gökbilgin, "15 ve 16. Asırda Eyâlet-i Rum.", *VD*, 6 (1965), p.53.

<sup>88</sup> Although *nahiye* became the primary administrative unit in the Ottoman fiscal system, it was sometimes used instead of *liva*. It is also seen that *vilâyet* was used for small units; see Gökbilgin, '15 ve 16. Asırda eyâlet-i Rum', p. 53; for an archival based evaluation of this confusing terminology in and around the Tokat region, see Ali Açıkel, *Changes in settlement patterns, Population and Society in North Central Anatolia: A Case Study of the District of Tokat (1574-1643)*, pp. 42-50; cf. M. Akif Erdoğan, "Karaman Vilâyeti'nin İdari Taksimati", *OA*, 12 (1992), p. 425.



used for all the administrative divisions, with no mention of *sancaks*, *livas* or *nahiyes*. Relying on an archival document from the Topkapı Palace archive (no: 929), Erdoğan stated that the province of Karaman consisted of twenty-five *kazas* in the year 1513.<sup>90</sup>

The third important survey, dating from 924/1518, was carried out by Ibn-i Kemal during the reign of Selim I (1512-1520).<sup>91</sup> According to this, the province of Karaman consisted of merely 6 *livas*. No further subdivisions were given. Moreover the *livas* of İçil and Kayseri are not listed in this survey.

Twelve years later, in 937/1530, during the reign of Kanuni Süleyman (1520-1566), a further, much more detailed survey was carried out. Here, the province of Karaman consisted of 8 *livas* and 26 *kazas*, once again including İçil and Kayseri. This was the first time that *livas* and *kazas* were presented given separately. The *defters* does not distinguish between *kaza* and *nahiye*.

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<sup>89</sup> Akgündüz, *Kanunnameler*, p. 305; Konyalı, *Konya Tarihi*, p.114. According to Konyalı in this survey Karaman was for the first time called Karaman Vilâyeti rather than Karaman İli.

<sup>90</sup> Erdoğan, "Karaman Vilâyeti'nin İdari Taksimati", *OA*, 12 (1992), p. 426.

<sup>91</sup> Akgündüz, *Kanunnameler*, p. 305; Konyalı, *Konya Tarihi*, p.114.

**Table 1.2: Administrative division of Karaman, 1491-1518**

In 1491 <sup>92</sup> <i>Kazas</i>	In 1513 <sup>93</sup> <i>Kazas</i>	In 1518 <sup>94</sup> <i>Livas</i>
Konya	Konya	Konya
Belviran	Larende (Karaman)	Larende (Karaman)
Çimen	Niğde	Beyşehir
Akşehir	Ereğli	Akşehir
Ilgun	Kayseri	Aksaray
Niğde	Karahisar	Niğde
Anduğu	Aksaray	
Urgüb	Koçhisar	
Ereğli	Gülнар	
Aksaray	Akşehir	
Koçhisar	Ishaklı	
Kayseriye	Belviran	
Ermenek	Beyşehir	
Mut	Ilgun	
Gülнар	Seydişehir	
	Ermenek	
	Çemeneli	
	Mud	
	Ortaköy	
	Ürgüb	
	Karış	
	Eskiil	
	Turgutli	
	Aladağ	
	Zengicek	

<sup>92</sup> *Defter-i Evkaf -i Vilâyet-i Karaman ve Kayseriye ve Ic-il M.1491, Kuyud-i kadime*, no; 565; Konyalı, *Konya Tarihi*, pp. 113-114; Akgündüz, *Kanunnameler*, p. 305.

<sup>93</sup> M. Akif Erdoğan, "Karaman Vilâyeti'nin Idari Taksimati", *OA*, 12 (1992), p. 427.

<sup>94</sup> Akgündüz, *Kanunnameler*, p.305.



**Table 1.3: Administrative division of Karaman in 1530<sup>95</sup>**

<i>Liva</i>	<i>Kaza</i>
Konya	Konya
	Eski-il
	Turgud
	Bayburd
Beyşehir	Beyşehir
	Seydişehir
Akşehir	Akşehir
	Ishaklu
	Cimen-ili
	Ilgun
Larende	Belviran
	Aladağ
	Larende
Aksaray	Aksaray
	Koçhisar
	Ereğli
Niğde	Niğde
	Urgüb
	Anduğu
	Karahisar-i Develu
Kayseriye	Kayseriye
Içil	Ermenek
	Mud
	Karataş
	Gülнар
	Selendi

As seen from the information above, the borders and subdivisions of the province of Karaman under Ottoman administration changed during the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. A register of 1590 shows a further elaboration in detail. The same 8 *livas* as in 1530 were divided into 43 *kazas*. In 1530, for example, the *liva* of Konya consisted of 4 *kazas*, in 1590, of 8 *kazas*, and in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century there were 11 *kazas*. Similarly, there were 5 registered *kazas* in the

<sup>95</sup> 387 Numaralı Muhasebe-i Vilâyet-i Karaman ve Rum Defteri, 937/1530, Konya, Bey-şehir, Ak-şehir, Larende, Ak-saray, Niğde, Kayseriye ve İç-il Livaları, (Dizin ve Tipki Basım, Defter-i Hakani Dizisi:III, Yayın Nu:32 published by Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü, Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı), (Ankara 1996).

*liva* of İçil in 1530, 10 in 1590, and 11 in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century. Beyşehir had 2 *kazas* in 1530, and 6 *kazas* afterwards. Only one *kaza* is listed for the *liva* of Kayseri in 1530 and 1590, and 2 *kazas* during the 17<sup>th</sup>-century. There was no increase or decrease in the number of *kazas* in the *livas* of Aksaray and Akşehir from 1530 onwards. The number of *kazas* registered for the *liva* of Aksaray were 3, and 4 in Akşehir.



Table 1.4: Administrative divisions of the province of Karaman in 1590<sup>96</sup>

<i>Liva</i>	<i>Kaza</i>
Konya	Konya
	Belviran
	Gafiryad
	Aladağ
	Bayburt
	Turgut
	Ereğli
	Larende
	Niğde
	Samardı
Niğde	Develü
	Bor
	Urgüp
	Develü karahisar
	Sücaeddin
	Anduğu
	Aksaray
	Koçhisar
	Yüzdeciyan
	Akşehir
Aksaray	Ishakli
	Doğanhisari
	Ilgin
	Beyşehir
	Seydişehir
	Bozkir
	Yenişehir
	Kırili
	Hacibektaş
	Kirşehir
Akşehir	Keskun deluk
	Selmanlu
	Kayseriye
	Sinanlu
	Gülнар
	Küre
	Selindi
	Bozdoğan
	Mamuriye
	Mud
Beyşehir	Karitaş
	Silifke
	Zeyne
Kirşehir	
Kayseriye	
Içil	

<sup>96</sup>Lütfi Güçer, *XVI-XVII Yuzyillarda Osmanli Devletinde Hububat Meselesi ve Hububattan Alinan Vergiler*, pp. 155-158.

In the *avâriz defters* used for this study there are no variations in the number of *livas* or *kazas* throughout the period 1621-1700. *Karaman eyâleti* consists of a standard 8 *livas* and 48 *kazas*. A ferman, dated 1688, that was sent from the central administration to the *sancaks* and registered in the *kadı's* court, confirms this by also giving the number of *livas* (*sancaks*) as eight as registered in the *avâriz defters*.<sup>97</sup>

The earlier changes in the composition of both the *livas* and the *kazas* of the province of Karaman in terms of the increase in the number of *kazas* and their distribution among the *livas*, seem to have been connected with the needs of the Ottoman government, especially financial ones, in the late sixteenth century. Oktay Özel argued that the main reason behind the increase in the number of *kazas* of each *liva* of Amasya in the province of Sivas (Rum) was the assumption that this would provide the central government with practical benefits, in terms of the collection of *avâriz* levies and *cizye*.<sup>98</sup> Since the local *kadıs* played an important role in the process of assessment and collection of *avâriz* levies. The government might, therefore, have wanted to increase the number of *kazas*, and therefore the *kadıs* with either each *nahiye*, forming a *kaza*, or with some *nahiyes* being divided into two or three parts, in order to produce manageable sizes of tax

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<sup>97</sup> "...Konya ve Niğde ve Beyşehir ve Aksaray ve İçel ve Kayseriye ve Akşehir ve Kirşehir sancaklarında vaki' olan kadılar-zide fazluhum- tevki-i refi hümayun vasil olacak ma'lum olaki Mevkufat defteri mücebince Karaman Eyâletinde vaki zıkr olunan sancakların..." Quoted in Ayşe Türkmen, 96 Numaralı Kayseri Ser'iyye Sicili, *Metin Transkripsiyonu*, 1099/1100-1687/1689, (Unpublished MA Thesis, Kayseri 1998), p. 147. For another imperial order see Mehmet Özbek, 88 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili, *Metin Transkripsiyonu*, 1089/1090-1678/1679, (Unpublished MA Thesis, Kayseri 1995), p. 324.

<sup>98</sup> Oktay Özel, *Changes in Settlement Patterns, Population and Society in Rural Anatolia: A Case Study of Amasya (1576-1642)*, p. 58.



units.<sup>99</sup> Açıkel's study of the *kaza* of Tokat in the *liva* of Sivas (in the province of Rum) also shows that there was a significant rise in the number of *kazas* in the province of Rum by the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century. This itself supports the assumption that some *nahiyes* were converted into *kazas*.<sup>100</sup> The registers used for this study, showing the rise in the number of *kazas* in the province of Karaman, again support the assumption of the conversion of some *nahiyes* into *kazas* in order to facilitate tax collection in a smaller but more secure and manageable environment. In addition, the obvious increase in the number of *kazas* may also be seen as an alternative way of providing security, and a stronger government presence, through an increased number of *kadıs* and their associates in an age of unrest and *celâli* disturbances.

To sum up, when the Ottomans took over the province of Karaman, they found a well-established 'nobility', as well as tribal families linked with the former Karamanid dynasty. By the 1580s, the 'classical' Ottoman provincial administration had been implemented in the region, largely on the basis of the previous practices both in Karaman and in the rest of the empire. This was a gradual process, which covered the period between the years 1468 and 1590. Therefore, the terminology used in the early surveys was particularly unstable. From the turn of the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the province of Karaman consists of 8 *livas* and 48 *kazas*. It was under the administrative authority of a *beylerbeyi*. As

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<sup>99</sup> Ali Açıkel, *Changes in settlement patterns, Population and Society in North Central Anatolia: A Case Study of the District of Tokat (1574-1643)*, p. 51.

<sup>100</sup> Açıkel, *Changes in settlement patterns*, p. 52; Hutteroth and Abdulfettah, in their study of Transjordan and Southern Syria in the late sixteenth century, similarly think that, according to the *Tahrir defters* they used, the function of the *nahiye* was a 'purely statistical or fiscal one, created in order to make the counting of village and taxes easier'. See Kemal Abdulfettah and Wolf-Dieter Hütteroth, *Historical Geography of Palestine, Transjordan and Southern Syria in the Late 16<sup>th</sup> Century*, (Erlangen, 1977), p.19.

seen during the period 1468-1600, the composition of the province changed considerably and the number of its *kazas* increased. The main reason of this increase was that some *nahiyes* turned into *kazas*. As a result of this change, the number of *kazas* in the *livas* of the province increased considerably, compared to the 1530 register. Behind the rise of the number of *kazas*, most probably, lies the assumption that the government reduced the borders of such divisions for practical considerations, in terms of stability/security and collection of *avâriz* levies and *cizye* taxes, and other levies in and around the region. At this point, this must be seen as an assumption which will need further detailed research to provide prove.



**Table 1.5: Administrative division of Karaman according to 17<sup>th</sup> Century *avariz* registers<sup>101</sup>**

<i>Liva</i>	<i>Kaza</i>
<b>Konya</b>	<b>Konya</b> Kureyş Aladağ Pirluganda Belviran Gaferyad Eski-îl Insuyu Larende Ereğli
<b>Niğde</b>	<b>Niğde</b> Urgüb Anduğu Sücaeddin Develü Bor Samardi
<b>Akşehir</b>	<b>Akşehir</b> Ilgun Ishaklu Doğanhisarı
<b>Kırşehir</b>	<b>Kırşehir</b> Konur Hacibektaş Süleymanlu-i kebir Keskun
<b>Beyşehir</b>	<b>Beyşehir</b> Kucu-i kebir Yenişehir Kırili Bozkir Seydişehir
<b>Aksaray</b>	<b>Aksaray</b> Eyüpili Koçhisar
<b>Kayseriye</b>	<b>Kayseriye</b> Karahisar ve Yahyalu
<b>Içil</b>	<b>Silifke</b> Bozdoğan Sarıkavak Küre-i Nuri Ziyne Mud Sinanlu Ermenek Selendi Gülнар Karintaş ve Avgadi

<sup>101</sup> Taken from MM 2751 dated 1030/M.1620. For identical administrative division in subsequent 17<sup>th</sup>-century *avâriz* registers, see Chapter 2.

## Chapter 2

### ***Avârizhânes* in the province of Karaman, 1621-1700**

As noted earlier, the Empire-wide historical developments of the early modern period have long been interesting subjects of discussion among historians and various attempts have been made to explain both the nature and the reasons for the developments which occurred in the Ottoman Empire at the turn of the seventeenth century. The importance for the central government to maintain a regular and adequate tax revenue was crucial.

In this chapter we will examine the detailed working of the *avârizhâne* system in the province of Karaman, based on data provided in the series of 50 *Anadolu ve Rumeli eyâletleri avârizhâne defterleri* as described in chapter 1. In accordance with the format of these original registers, data totals are presented for the province as a whole, for each of the eight *livas* (sub-provinces), i.e. Konya, Niğde, Beyşehir, Akşehir, Kayseri, Aksaray, Kirşehir, and İçil, and for the separate *kazas* (districts) within these *livas*. These figures are then presented in percentage to give a clear idea of the relative importance of each region in terms of *avâriz* income to the central government. This enables us to see for the first time, in a systematic way, how the numbers of *avârizhânes* fluctuated during the seventeenth century down to the level of *kazas*, and also to discuss the relative prosperity of these areas. The actual revenue totals generated through the *avârizhâne* system for the central treasury are discussed in chapter 3.

The usefulness of the data contained in the *avârizhâne* registers for demographic studies has yet to be systematically examined in detail. Therefore, the value of



*avârizhâne* registers for demographic research will also be examined in accordance with the data presented below in order to be able to see how significant this data may be for such research. The records in the *avâriz* registers provide a valuable source of information on the taxable population which enable us to examine certain aspects of historical demography. Having said that, however, we will not attempt here to estimate the overall population of the *livas* or *kazas*, urban or rural, within the province out of the figures provided here, because of the difficulty in finding an appropriate multiplier to calculate the non-taxable population over an extended period, and because of the unknown number of individuals and groups who had been granted exemption from *avâriz* payments for a variety of reasons. It has been estimated that exemption status may have applied to between 20% and 40% of the population.<sup>102</sup> The *avâriz icmal* registers used for this study do not regularly note exemptions. Although exemptions are noted in the *mufasssal avâriz* registers, unfortunately, only a few of these have survived.

In this chapter *avârizhâne* figures are presented as they appear in the original registers in order to facilitate their use for comparative work on a larger scale. The figures in their present forms in the registers are sufficient without any modifications to indicate the long-term changes in the taxable population in the province as a whole. I have therefore tried to keep the interpretation as close to the original data as possible. First, we need to define what an *avârizhâne* was in the Ottoman practice.

**Definition of an *avârizhâne*.** The term *avârizhâne* denotes an administratively-defined 'tax household' or 'tax house unit'. In the fifteenth and early sixteenth century one *avârizhâne* comprised of just one *gerçekhâne* (real household) or

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<sup>102</sup> Darling, *Revenue-Raising*, p. 88.

*nefer* (individual) but by the seventeenth century the system had changed to one of larger groupings, with one *avârizhâne* comprising several *gerçekhânes* or *nefers*. *Avâriz* was levied only every 4-5 years in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries according to Lütfi Paşa,<sup>103</sup> and annually in the seventeenth century.<sup>104</sup>

The number of *gerçekhânes* in an *avârizhâne* unit varied over time and place, according to government need, to administrative practice, and to the estimated financial circumstances of the tax-payers in a given area. The principle was simple. Each *avârizhâne* unit was required to pay the same amount in *avâriz* levies. However, the government recognised different levels of prosperity- *edna* (poor), *evsat* (average) and *âla* (rich) - and adjusted the number of *gerçekhânes* in each *avârizhâne*, accordingly. For instance, if in an averagely prosperous area, 7 *gerçekhânes* comprised of one *avârizhâne* which was required to contribute 400 *akçe* per year, depending on the type of levy, then in a richer area 3 or 4 *gerçekhânes* might comprise one *avârizhâne* to yield the same sum. In a poor area perhaps 12 or more *gerçekhânes* would be grouped together to generate this amount. This fine tuning took place at the local level, within urban *mahalles* (town quarters) and villages, and was an essential part of the assessment process.

In the following discussions the text should be read in conjunction with the relevant statistical tables provided. The figures given are those computed by the Ottoman central government finance clerks. Figures in parentheses are my corrections where the 17<sup>th</sup>-century arithmetic was at fault.

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<sup>103</sup> See p. 35 (footnote 42).

<sup>104</sup> See Chapter 3.



2.1 *Avârizhâne* trends within the province of *Karaman* 1621-1700

Linda Darling suggested that there was a decrease of 50% in *avârizhâne* numbers in the empire between the late 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, due mainly to this change in the method of assessment from smaller to larger *avârizhâne* units.<sup>105</sup> The following figures in table 2.1 indicate the scale of the change for the empire at large from 1640 to 1700s.

Table 2.1: The general pattern of *avârizhânes* in the Ottoman Empire, 1640-1700s\*

Date	Eastern Anadolu and Ottoman Syria**	Rumeli***	Western Anadolu****	Total
1640	27,773 (224)	96,756 (159)	52,519 (275)	177,048 (658)
1650	21,291 (220)	110,901 (220)	----	132,192 (440)
1662	33,280 (219)	103,100 (234)	50,384 (284)	186,764 (737)
1677	18,822 (219)	92,274 (221)	51,292 (281)	162,388 (721)
1688	30,759 (232)	53,122 (154)	41,689 (279)	125,570 (665)
1698	18,015 (213)	46,498 (180)	34,700 (288)	99,213 (681)
1718	18,490 (205)	44,426 (181)	30,373 (283)	93,289 (669) <sup>106</sup>

Details taken from McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe*, pp. 118-20.

\*The number of *kazas* (administrative/judicial districts) into which each *liva* is divided appears in parentheses after the number of *avârizhânes*.

\*\* Sivas, Amasya, Çorum, Bozok, Canik, Arabkir, Divriği, Konya, Niğde, Beğşehir, Akşehir, Kayseri, Aksaray, Kırşehir, İçil, Adana, Trablus-i Şam, Şam-i Şerif, Haleb, Bire'tül Firat, Maraş, Malatya, Ayntab, Diyarbekir, Erzerum, Karahisar-i Şarki, Trabzon, Gönnye.

\*\*\* Paşa, Vize, Çirmen, Köstendil, Üsküb, Agriboz, Tirhala, Avlonya, Delvine, Selanik, Niğbolu, Silistre, Yanya, Ilbasan, Karli Eli, Inebahtı, Ohri, Pirzrin, Dukakin, Iskenderiye, Vidin, Mora, Kefe, Gelibolu, Ahur-i Edirne, Ahur-i Hayribolu, Ahur-i Yanbolu, Ahur-i Zagora.

\*\*\*\* Aydın, Saruhan, Menteşe, Suğla, Hamideli, Karasi, Biga, Teke, Alaiye, Kütahya, Hüdavendigâr (minus Bursa), Karahisar-i Sahib, Angara, Sultanönü, Kengri, Boli, Kastamonu.

<sup>105</sup> Darling, *Revenue-Raising*, p.106.

<sup>106</sup> The 1718 *avârizhâne* figures added in here, in order to give an idea about the *avârizhâne* trends after the seventeenth century.



**Table 2.2: Increase and decrease in the number of *avârizhânes* as a percentage of the totals in the main parts of the empire, 1640-1700s**

Eastern Anadolu and Ottoman Syria	Rumeli	Western Anadolu	Overall in the Empire
-35.13%	-51.94%	-33.92%	-43.96%

The total *avârizhânes* for the entire province is listed in MM 2751 *avâriz icmal* register as 3,018.5 *avârizhânes* for the year of 1621 (table 2.3). The decrease in the total number of *avârizhânes* between 1621 and 1699 in *Karaman eyâleti* is (- 8.71%). As seen from table 2.1 above, a very significant drop in the total number of *avârizhânes* was also seen in other areas in the Empire. Take, for example, Eastern Anadolu and Ottoman Syria which experienced (-35.13%) drop in the total number of *avârizhânes* between 1640 and 1700s. Western Anadolu experienced (-33.92%) fall in its *avârizhânes*. The downward trend is much higher in Rumeli (-51.94%) than anywhere in the Empire for the same period. Generally speaking, this downward trend in the number of *avârizhânes* was a general phenomenon in the Empire at large and it continued to decrease well into the 18<sup>th</sup>-century.

As noted earlier, from 1580s when the 'classical' *tahrir* registers for the region of Karaman province ceased to be made, other types of record emerged to register changes in both taxable population and revenues in the area under study. These are the *avâriz*, *cizye* (poll-tax) and *mukataa* (tax-farming) registers. We will not deal with the latter two here. The fifty *avâriz defters* examined, dating from 1030/1621 to 1112/1700 all are summary (*icmal*) *defters*, organised on the province-*liva-kaza* format. As stated in Chapter 1, only two detailed *mufassal* registers were found, one each for Kayseri and Konya, both dated as 1051-52/1641-42. The detailed *avâriz* registers of 1642 record by name not only the tax-paying population but also tax-



exempt members of the *ulema* and the military class as well as some female householders on the basis of both *nefer* (individual) and *avârizhâne*.<sup>107</sup>

Table 2.3 shows the total number of *avârizhânes* in each of the eight *livas* and then the total for the province of Karaman as a whole. It is immediately clear that, from at least 1640 onwards, *avâriz* collections were made virtually on an annual basis throughout the province. It is equally clear from the persistent variations in the provincial total, that *avârizhâne* numbers were never completely static. The greatest fluctuation in, and also the highest totals of, *avârizhânes* apparently occurred in the period up to c.1656, with relative stabilization and renewed variations to the end of the century.

Archival documents show that after 1620 separate *avâriz icmal* registers become more numerous and more systematic in the empire at large, due to the regularization of the *avâriz* levies which subsequently increased the importance of regular *avâriz* tax assessment registers.<sup>108</sup> Gaps in the record between 1621 and 1640 are probably due to the loss of the intermediate registers (some of which may ultimately be found in other classifications in *Başbakanlık Arşivi* in Istanbul). From the entries in the *sicils* used in this study we can say that *avâriz* collection in the province was certainly made in that particular time period.

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<sup>107</sup> Despite the fact that the 1642 *mufassal* register obviously contains much valuable information, the fact that it is at present the only one of its kind known to exist for the *liva* of Konya in this period, means that there is no point of comparison for the longer study 1621-1700 and that the material it contains is of a different order to that of the *icmal* registers. I intend to make the Konya *mufassal defter* the subject of a separate study.

<sup>108</sup> Cf also Darling, "Ottoman Fiscal Administration", p. 171.



Table 2.3: *Avârizhânes* by *Liva* in the province of Karaman, 1621-1700

Register	Date	Konya	Niğde	Beyşehir	Akşehir
MM2751	1621	590.75[594.25]	601.75	428.5	290.5
MM3862	1628	583.25[581.25]	524	425.5	287.5
MM7075	1636	---	---	---	---
KK2587	1640	532.75[533]	445.75	376.25	303.5
MM3845	1641/2	656.75	418.5	433.5	353.25
KK2604	1643	915.5	440.75	499	384.5
MM2808	1645	877	476.75	499	380
MM3832	1648	838.25	431.75	494.75	360.5
MM3835	1649	796.5	522.75	492.75	361
MM4950	1650	726.25	418.5	433.75	353.25
MM2787	1651	908.5 [911.25in text]	465.25	492.75	393.5
MM1980	1651	908.5	465.25	492.75	393.5
MM3844	1652	910.5	465.25	492.75	373.5 [probably 393.5]
MM2989	1654	897 [898.25 in text]	464.5	492.75	393.5
KK2623	1655	823.75	451	492.75	385.5
MM3847	1656	823.75	449	492.75	385.5
KK2625	1657	821.25	448	486	386.25
MM3850	1658	821.25	440	486	386.25
MM2749	1658	821.25	440	486	386.25
MM3810	1660	821.25	433.5	486	386.25
MM3067	1664	821.25	405.25	485	385.5
MM3354	1665	821.5	405.25	[485]	385.5
MM2783	1665	821.5	405.25	485	385.5
MM3836	1668	821.5	404.5	485	385.5
KK2653	1670	821.5	404.5	485	386.25
MM7857	1670	821.25	403.75	486	386.25
KK2651	1670	821.5	404.5	485	386.25
MM3003	1671	821.5	404.5	485	385.25
MM3834	1671	821.5	404.5	485	385.5
MM2790	1672	820.5	404.5	485	386.25
MM2412	1673	820.5	403.25	485	386.25
KK2659	1674	820.5	403.25	485	386.25
MM2505	1675	820.5	403.25	485	386.25
KK2665	1676	820.5	403.25	485	384.25
MM3841	1678	820.5	410.25	485	384.25
MM3809	1679	820.5	410.25	485	384.25
MM3837	1680	820.5	410.25	485	384.25
MM3830	1681	820.5	410.25	485	384.25
MM9480	1686[89]	810.25	408.25	482.5	384.25
MM2805	1687	810.75	408.25	482.5	374.25
MM3839	1688	810.75	408.25	482.5	374.25
KSS96	1689	810.75	408.25	482.5	374.25
MM16085	1690	809.25	402.25	482.5	336
MM2793	1691	801.5	385.25	476.5	306.5
MM2471	1692	793.25	385.25	472.75	305.75
MM2987	1694	793.25	385.25	473.75	305.75
MM3807	1696	726.5	382.5	471.75	171.25
MM3820	1699	719.75	379.5	468.25	171.75



Register	Date	Kayseri	Aksaray	Kırşehir	Içil	Total <i>avârizhânes</i> in the province of Karaman
MM2751	1621	420	169	224	294	3018.5
MM3862	1628	395	169	224	294	2902.25
MM7075	1636	---	---	---	---	2616.5
KK2587	1640	387.75	141.5	181.75	202	2571.25
MM3845	1641/2	550	99.25	181.75	201.25	2894.25
KK2604	1643	901.25	165.25	182.75	201.25	3690.25
MM2808	1645	904.25	167.5	182.75	201.25	3688.5
MM3832	1648	901.25	167.5	182.75	201.25	3578
MM3835	1649	513.5	258.75	182.75	201.25	3334.25
MM4950	1650	550	99.25	181.75	201.25	2895
MM2787	1651	508.5	259.5	182.75	201.25	3414.75
MM1980	1651	506	259	182.75	201.25	3409
MM3844	1652	499.75	260	182.75	201.25	3385.75
MM2989	1654	514	259.5	182.75	201.25	3406.5
KK2623	1655	514	259.5	182.75	201.25	3310.5
MM3847	1656	510	259.5	182.5	201.25	3304.5
KK2625	1657	506.5	259.75	182.5	201.25	3281.75
MM3850	1658	506.25	259.75	182.5	201.25	3283.25
MM2749	1658	506.25	259.25	182.5	201.25	3282.75
MM3810	1660	509.75	253	182.5	201.25	3273.5
MM3067	1664	511.25	253	184	201.25	3246.5
MM3354	1665	511.25	253	184	201.25	3246.75
MM2783	1665	511.25	253	184	201.25	3246.75
MM3836	1668	512.75	253	185	201.25	3248.5
KK2653	1670	513.25	253	185	201.25	3249.75
MM7857	1670	509.25	253	182.5	201.25	3243.5
KK2651	1670	513.25	253	185	201.25	3248.75
MM3003	1671	511.25	253	184	201.25	3245.75
MM3834	1671	511.25	253	184	201.25	3246
MM2790	1672	514.5	253	185	201.25	3249
MM2412	1673	510.5	253	185	201.25	3244.75
KK2659	1674	510.5	253	185	201.25	3244.75
MM2505	1675	510.5	253	185	201.25	3244.75
KK2665	1676	510.5	253	185	201.25	3244.75
MM3841	1678	463.75	253	185	201.25	3203
MM3809	1679	463.75	253	185	201.25	3203
MM3837	1680	463.75	253	185	201.25	3203
MM3830	1681	463.75	253	185	201.25	3203
MM9480	1686	489.5	230	185	201.25	3191
MM2805	1687	499.75	230	185	201.25	3191.75
MM3839	1688	499.25	230	185	201.25	3191.25
KSS96	1689	499.25	230	185	200.25	3191.25
MM16085	1690	489.75	230	159.5	201	3110.5
MM2793	1691	499.5	230	143.75	201.25	3044.25
MM2471	1692	479.5	230	143.75	201.25	3011.5
MM2987	1694	461.5	230	143.75	201.25	2994.5
MM3807	1696	451.75	227.25	143.75	201.25	2776
MM3820	1699	447.25	223.25	144.75	201	2755.5



Between 1640 and c.1656 the *avârizhâne* totals for the province as a whole show significant fluctuations. This is due principally to large variations in the *livas* of Konya and Kayseri, both of which record unprecedentedly high numbers of *avârizhânes* in 1643 (and most of the later 1640s), amounting to c.72% and 64% more respectively than the totals given for 1642. These variations, which are obviously much greater than are likely to have occurred simply in response to tax-payers' complaints, are discussed in more detail below. Relatively minor variations also appear for Niğde, Beyşehir, Akşehir and Aksaray, but there is very little change recorded in Kirşehir, and none at all in İçil, after 1641.

In the second half of the seventeenth century, i.e. after c.1656 and until numbers began to fall appreciably in the early 1690s, *avârizhâne* totals were comparatively stable. A slow decrease in numbers of *avârizhânes* recorded is apparent (in blocks) for the years 1657-1660 (with totals between 3285.5 and 3280), 1664-1676 (with totals between 3249.75 and 3243.5) and 1678-1689 (with totals initially at 3203, then falling to c.3191). Totals below 3000 in the late 1690s were lower than at any time since 1650. Variations may be extremely slight, as in the registers for 1664-1672 where there are differences within a range of just 6.25 *hânes*. The interpretative weight, which could be put upon such slight variations is difficult to assess, especially when it is evident that totals could also vary even where there are two or three registers of the same date (e.g. two for 1658, and three for 1670). Either *avârizhâne* assesment was in a constant state of flux with officials careful to record every small change, or bureaucratic arithmetics was regularly at fault. The general trends are, however, still valid.



In order to be able to understand these figures we should also take into consideration the reliability of the data and the circumstances in which the *avâriz* collection was carried out. It is important to ask the questions: 'How often was a new *mufassal* assessment survey made, and with what results?' The sudden jump in *avârizhâne* numbers for Konya and Kayseri, already noted for 1643, presumably resulted from the *mufassal* surveys of 1642. Minor adjustments were probably made regularly without the need for a full survey. With the exception of the period 1673-1681, there are no years in which the total is exactly the same as that of the previous year. The fact that, as shown in table 2.6 below, there is no detailed listing of *avârizhânes* by *kaza* for these years (nor for 1671 or 1672, the two previous years, may suggest that here officials were re-using old assessments with no modifications. Either these assessments remained acceptable to tax-payers or in *avâriz* terms taxation was held constant, or in these years the central government did not respond positively to local complaints. On the other hand, the possibility of a change in bureaucratic procedure should not be ruled out. Generally speaking, leaving aside minor clerical errors in arithmetic, all the registers used appear carefully kept and reliable.

It is obvious that *avâriz* collectors needed to have something in their hands to work from when out collecting. From a number of archival documents and the information provided in chapter 5 below, we can assume that unless a new *mufassal* survey was carried out, or individual complaints were made to the central government, annual *avârizhâne* figures would remain the same and would be simply copied from year to year. For this reason they may or may not reflect the actual situation. This difficulty can be checked to some extent by examining the imperial orders that were sent out to

the provincial official in relation to the collection of certain types of *avâriz* levies and which were recorded in the *şer'iyye sicilleri* of Kayseri and Konya.<sup>109</sup>

## 2.2 *Avârizhâne* trends by *liva*

The available sources enable us to examine the variations in the total number of *avârizhânes* in each *liva* and *kaza* within the province. It is clear that numbers of *avârizhânes* in six of the eight *livas* follow the same general pattern already noted for the province as a whole, i.e. considerable fluctuation in the period up to c. 1656, followed by comparative stability until a noticeable decrease in the 1690s. The exceptions are Kirşehir and İçil, unchanged through more or less the entire period, as discussed below. As is to be expected, the *livas* of Konya and Kayseri which contain the largest urban areas also show the greatest fluctuations in *avârizhâne* numbers, possibly reflecting greater movement of population into and out of the two main cities. The percentage of *avârizhânes* in each *liva* indicates the relative size/wealth of each region, as shown in table 2.4.

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<sup>109</sup> On this see Chapter 5.



**Table 2.4: *Avârizhânes* in each *liva* as a percentage of the total for the Province of Karaman**

	1621	1628	1640	1643	1657	1673	1686	1691	1699
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Konya	19.5	20	20.7	24.8	25	25.3	25.4	26.3	26.1
Kayseri	13.9	13.6	15.1	24.4	15.4	15.7	15.3	16.4	16.2
Beyşehir	14.1	14.6	14.6	13.5	14.8	14.9	15.1	15.8	17
Niğde	19.9	18	17.3	11.9	13.7	12.4	12.8	12.6	13.8
Akşehir	9.6	9.9	11.8	10.4	11.8	11.9	12	10	6.2
Aksaray	5.5	5.8	5.5	4.5	7.6	7.8	7.2	7.5	8.1
Içil	9.7	10.1	7.9	5.5	6.1	6.2	6.3	6.6	7.3
Kırşehir	7.4	7.7	7.1	5	5.6	5.7	5.8	4.7	5.3

**Table 2.5: Increase and decrease in the number of *avârizhânes* in each *liva* as percentage between 1621-1699**

Konya	Kayseri	Beyşehir	Niğde	Akşehir	Aksaray	Içil	Kırşehir
+21.83 %	+6.48 %	+9.27 %	-36.93 %	+4.6%	+32.1%	-31.6%?	-35.37%

### 2.2.1 Konya Livası

The registered number of *avârizhânes* for *Konya livası* showed a considerable fluctuation over the period 1621 to 1654. As seen from table 2.6, the general total of *avârizhânes* in *Konya livası* varies between 594.25\* and 915.5 during the time period under study. From a starting point of 594.25 in 1621, it sank to 532.5 *hânes* in 1640, then rose dramatically to 656 *hânes* in 1641. It was reduced to 616.75 *hânes* in 1642, then rose to 915.5 in 1643, the highest level ever recorded for the *liva* for the century.

The numbers of *avârizhânes* in the *liva* varied between 877 in 1645 and 910.5 in 1652. From 1656 to 1665 the *avârizhânes* of *Konya livası* decreased from 823.75 to 821.25, although this 2.5 decrease in the total is not a significant change for a ten-year period. Similarly, there is a slight decrease in the *avârizhânes* from 1656 to 1681 during which the *avârizhânes* of the *liva* varied between 820.5 and 821.5, merely one *avârizhâne* for a twenty-five year period. As will be seen from the discussion below, the changes in the number of *avârizhânes* in *Konya livası* cannot only be attributed to demographic or economic changes in the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, but also to a change in the manner of *avârizhâne* assessment and exemption status of a certain area. In this regard, it should be noted that in 1643 - the year in which the *liva* total rises by almost 300 *avârizhânes* on the previous year 1642 - the increase is spread throughout the *liva*, particularly in Insuyu (+200%), Gaferyad (c.54%), Larende (+c.50%), and Konya (c.27%). 76 *avârizhânes* are recorded for the first time for *Ereğli kazası*. These increases reduce slightly the dominance of Konya, but show more particularly that

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\*Total *avârizhânes* for the *liva* is given mistakenly as 590.75 in the register for the year 1621. It is presumably as a result of the *katip's* (clerk) miscalculation of the *avârizhânes* of the districts during the copying process. This type of human error is found in some other registers from time to time, and does not affect the general picture.



significant changes were being recorded. Again, factors for increase may include natural population increase, sudden immigration, fewer *gerçekhânes* assessed for one *avârizhâne*, and the inclusion of previously tax-exempt individuals. In the cases of Insuyu and Ereğli, the last factor may account for most of the increase.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>110</sup> See below, p. 84-85.

**Table 2.6: *Avârizhânes* by *kaza* in the *liva* of Konya, 1621-1700**

Registers	Date	Konya	Kureyş	Aladağ	Pirluganda	Belviran	Gaferyad	Eskiil
MM2751	1621	304	14.5	27	24.5	48.25	36	16
MM3862	1628	296	14.5	27	21.5	48.25	36	14
KK2587	1640	268.5	13	30	21.5	43	31	22
MM3845	1641/2	339.75	23.5	42	21.5	50	38	10.5
MM3074	1642	306.25	23.5	42	21.5	50	35.5	---
KK2604	1643	388.75	28.25	53.25	22.75	58.5	54.5	----
MM2808	1645	388.5	28.25	53.25	22.75	58.5	54.5	----
MM3832	1648	386.5	28.25	53.25	22.75	58.5	54.5	----
MM3835	1649	365.5	28.25	53.25	22.75	40.25	54.5	----
MM4950	1650	339.75	23.5	42	21.5	50	38	----
MM2787	1651	387.25	28.25	53.25	22.75	58.5	54.5	----
MM1980	1651	387.25	28.25	53.25	22.75	58.5	54.5	----
MM3844	1652	387.5	28.25	53.25	22.75	58.5	54.5	----
MM2989	1654	387.75	28.25	53.25	22.75	60	50.5	----
KK2623	1655	387.75	28.25	53.25	22.75	60	50.5	----
MM3847	1656	387.5	28.25	53.25	22.75	60	50.5	----
KK2625	1657	384.25	28.25	53.25	22.75	60	50.5	----
MM3850	1658	384.25	28.25	53.25	22.75	60	50.5	----
MM2998	1658	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
MM2749	1658	384.25	28.25	53.25	22.75	60	50.5	----
MM3810	1660	384.25	28.25	53.25	22.75	60	37.75	----
MM3067	1664	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
MM3354	1665	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
MM2783	1665	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
MM3836	1668	384.25	28.25	53.25	22.75	60	37.75	----
KK2653	1670	384.25	28.25	53.25	22.75	60	37.75	----
MM7857	1670	384.25	28.25	53.25	22.25	60	37.75	----
KK2651	1670	384.25	28.25	53.25	22.75	60	37.75	----
MM3003	1671	384.25	28.25	53.25	22.75	60	37.75	----
MM3834	1671	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
MM2790	1672	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
MM2412	1673	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
KK2659	1674	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
MM2505	1675	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
KK2665	1676	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
MM3841	1678	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
MM3809	1679	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
MM3837	1680	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
MM3830	1681	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
MM9480	1686	381.75	28.25	53.25	22.75	60	30	----
MM2805	1687	381.75	28.25	53.25	22.75	60	30	----
MM3839	1688	383.25	28.25	53.25	22.75	60	30	----
MM16085	1690	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
MM2793	1691	381.5	20.25	53.25	22.75	60	22.25	15.25
MM2471	1692	381.5	20.25	53.25	22.75	60	22.25	15.25
MM2987	1694	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
MM3807	1696	366	20.25	52.25	22.75	57.25	22.25	15.25
MM3820	1699	335.75	18.25	51.75	22.5	56.75	22.25	15.25



Register	Date	Akcaşehir	Insuyu	Larende	Ereğli	Total
MM2751	1621	9.5	13.5	101	----	590.75[594.25]
MM3862	1628	9.5	13.5	101	----	583.25[581.25]
KK2587	1640	---	13.5	90.5	----	532.5[533]
MM3845	1641/2	----	21.5	110	----	656.75
MM3074	1642	10.5	17.5	110	----	616.75
KK2604	1643	14.5	53.75	165.25	76	915.5
MM2808	1645	14.25	53.75	165.25	38	877
MM3832	1648	14.25	27.75	165.25	27.25	838.25
MM3835	1649	14.25	25.25	165.25	27.25	796.5
MM4950	1650	10.5	21.5	110	69.5	726.25
MM2787	1651	14.25	51.25	165.25	73.25	908.5
MM1980	1651	14.25	51.25	165.25	73.25	908.5
MM3844	1652	14.25	51.25	165.25	74	909.5 [910.5 in text]
MM2989	1654	14.25	39.75	166.75	74	897 [ 898.25 in text]
KK2623	1655	14.25	39.75	167.25	----	823.75
MM3847	1656	14.25	39.75	167.25	----	823.75
KK2625	1657	15.25	39.75	167.25	----	821.25
MM3850	1658	15.25	39.75	167.25	----	821.25
MM2998	1658	----	----	----	----	821.25
MM2749	1658	15.25	39.75	168.25	----	821.25
MM3810	1660	15.25	39.75	180	----	821.25
MM3067	1664	----	----	----	----	821.25
MM3354	1665	----	----	----	----	821.5
MM2783	1665	----	----	----	----	821.5
MM3836	1668	15.25	39.75	180.25	----	821.5
KK2653	1670	15.25	39.75	180.25	----	821.5
MM7857	1670	15.25	39.75	180	----	821.25
KK2651	1670	15.25	39.75	180.25	----	821.5
MM3003	1671	15.25	39.75	180.25	----	821.5
MM3834	1671	----	----	----	----	821.5
MM2790	1672	----	----	----	----	820.5
MM2412	1673	----	----	----	----	820.5
KK2659	1674	----	----	----	----	820.5
MM2505	1675	----	----	----	----	820.5
KK2665	1676	----	----	----	----	820.5
MM3841	1678	----	----	----	----	820.5
MM3809	1679	----	----	----	----	820.5
MM3837	1680	----	----	----	----	820.5
MM3830	1681	----	----	----	----	820.5
MM9480	1686	15.25	39.75	178.25	----	810.25
MM2805	1687	15.25	39.75	178.25	----	810.75
MM3839	1688	15.25	39.75	178.25	----	810.75
MM16085	1690	----	----	----	----	809.25
MM2793	1691	15.25	39.75	128.25	(menzil)	801.5
MM2471	1692	15.25	39.75	128.25	(menzil)	793.25
MM2987	1694	---	---	---	---	793.25
MM3807	1696	15.25	38.75	128.25	(menzil)	726.5
MM3820	1699	15.25	38.75	123.25	(menzil)	719.25

### **The *avârizhânes* of *kazas* in Konya livası**

The *avârizhânes* in *Konya kazası* varied between 268.5 and 388.75 during the 17<sup>th</sup> century. From a starting point of 304 in 1621, it sank to 268.5 *hânes* in 1640, then rose to 339.75 *hânes* in 1641. It was reduced to 306.25 *hânes* in 1642, then dramatically rose to 388.75 *hânes* in 1643, the highest level ever recorded for the *kaza* for the century.

The question to ask is why the *kaza* of Konya experienced such increase in the total numbers of *avarizhane* between 1642 and 1643 ( $306.25/388.75 = +82.5$  or 26.9%). Should continuous migration be regarded as one of the main factors for this increase? Here, three possible explanations come to mind. First, the people living in or around Konya were living in better economic conditions so much so that this relatively higher standard did attract the taxable population of other areas either from within the *liva* or in the province of Karaman. Second, the economic welfare of the tax-paying population in Konya may not be that attractive but for other reasons, such as Konya throughout its history was hosting some religious dervish lodges and whoever associated with such organisation were kept exempt from certain taxation by the central government and therefore people from other areas where they were subject to taxation including those of *avâriz* levies tried to avoid such payment by migrating and settling in those areas where the exemption was being implemented i.e. Konya. Third, if the economic welfare of the tax-paying population in Konya was not the case then the security factor should be taken into consideration. Lack of security in the surrounding regions may have played a significant role for the taxable people from other areas



where the situation was even worse and therefore migrated in desperation to relatively safer places, here is Konya.

Although there is some variation in the number of *avârizhânes* in the *kaza* at the beginning and the end of the century, the number is relatively stable between 1643 and 1692. Looking at the century more broadly, *avârizhâne* numbers were 304 in 1621, and had risen to 335.75 at the end of the century - a c.10% increase overall between these two dates. *Avârizhânes* in *Konya kazası* itself, generally account for just under 50% of the total: dropping slightly from a high point of 50.4% in 1640. In 1657 at the beginning of the period of relative stability, the 384.25 *avârizhânes* of Konya represent 46.7% of the total 821.25 for the whole *liva*; in 1699 the Konya percentage (reduced by 48.5 *hânes* in a total *liva* reduction of 102) is 46.6%. From 1651 to 1681 the number of *avârizhânes* in Konya varied only between 384.25 and 387.75, an insignificant difference of 3.5 *hânes*.

Larendé, the second largest *kaza* in *avâriz* terms, containing around 20% of the total, varies only by 3 *hânes* between 1643 and 1658, rises by 11.75 (6.9%) in 1660 and remains relatively steady (and hence largely undocumented) until 1691, when the numbers fall significantly by 50 *hânes* (28%) from 178.25 in 1688 to 129.25. The fall-off here is more noticeable than that in Konya in the early 1690s.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> It has already been shown that there are 701 recorded *nefers*-individuals in *kaza* of Larendé itself in 1500. The number of *nefers*/individuals dropped to 697 *nefers* in 1518, 675 *nefers* in 1523, 462 *nefers* in 1530, rose to 2048 *nefers* in 1584. See R. Jennings, "Urban Population", pp. 34-37; Faroqhi, "Taxation and Urban activities", p.41; cf. Alaaddin Aköz, *XVI. Asırda Karaman Kazası*, (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Konya, 1992): 122-140; "XVI. Yüzyıl sonunda Karaman", *OA*, 9 (1989): 331-345; "XVI. Asırda Larendé Kazası Hakkında", *OA*, 13 (1993): 96-136; Osman Gümüşçü, *XVI. Yüzyıl Larendé (Karaman) Kazasında Yerleşme ve Nüfus*, (PhD Thesis, Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Ankara, 1997): 161-169.

The details of the *avârizhânes* in *Larende kazası* is as follows; the *avârizhânes* of the *kaza* vary between 101 and 180.25 throughout the century. There are again fluctuations in the number of *avârizhânes* until 1660. The *avârizhânes* rose in blocks from 101 to 165.25 between 1621 and 1643, and remained the same number up to 1649. After that a decrease in the numbers of *avârizhânes*, from 165.25 to 110<sup>112</sup>, then another increase in the numbers of *avârizhânes* occurs, from 110 to 165.25, 167.25 and 168.25 in 1658. From 1660 to 1688 the number of *avârizhânes* of the *kaza* varied only between 180 and 178.25. After that they suddenly decreased to 128.25 and then 123.25. The increase in the numbers of *avârizhânes* over the 1621 base number are 66% in 1658, 78.4 % in 1681; the decrease in the number of *avârizhânes* are: 1.1 % in 1688, 28.8 % in 1696 and 31.6 % in 1699. The overall increase in the total number of *avârizhânes* in the *kaza* of Larende between 1621 and 1699 is 22.25 *avârizhânes* (22.02%, see table 2.8).

After Konya and Larende, the importance of the remaining *kazas* in *avârizhâne* terms in mid-century is, when taking the 1657 percentages: Belviran (containing c.7.3% of the total *hânes*), Aladağ (c.6.4%), Gaferyad (6.1%), Insuyu (c.4.8%), Kureyş (3.4%), Pirluganda (2.7%) and Akcaşehir (c.1.8%). The same pattern of a very slight decrease in the 1690s occurs for all these *kazas*. There is therefore no evidence from these figures of any significant change in the local economy or in population levels.

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<sup>112</sup> MM4950 for 1650 records only 110 *avârizhânes*. This register has already been noted as problematic.



Fluctuations in the numbers of *avârizhânes* in *Belviran kazası* from 1621 to 1654 show a significant variation between 48.25 and 58.5. Then the *avârizhânes* of the *kaza* increased to 60 and were frozen at this number until 1696. After that we see a slight decrease in the number of *avârizhânes* from 60 to 56.75.

The *avârizhânes* in *Aladağ kazası*<sup>113</sup> varied between 27 and 54 during the century. They were between 27 and 42 from 1621 to 1642; 51.75 and 54 from 1643 to the end of the century. This represented virtually a 100% percent increase in the total *avârizhânes* in the *kaza* between 1621 and 1643. After that, there was no significant change.

Gaferyad shows a slightly different pattern. *Avârizhâne* numbers jumped by c.50% from c.36/38 *avârizhânes* to 54.5 in 1643 and remained around that level until 1660, when they dropped again to the pre-1643 level, remaining fairly stable until 1686, and then show a considerable fall to 22.25 *avârizhânes* in the 1690s (c.33% less than the number recorded for the beginning of the century). There was clearly a considerable change either in population movement or in circumstances (possible exemption status).

As already noted, an even more dramatic increase occurred in *Insuyu* in 1643, rising from 17.5 to 53.75. Numbers then fell again to pre-1643 levels (around 20) between 1648 and 1650 but approached the 1643 totals (low 50s) for two years 1651 and 1652, and then subsided to a fairly constant 39.75 for virtually the rest

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<sup>113</sup> For information on *kaza* of Aladağ in 16<sup>th</sup> century, see Alaaddin Aköz, "XVI. Asrın İlk Yarısında Aladağ Kazası", *OA*, 16 (1996): 67-120.

of the century. By 1699 an overall increase of almost 200% in *avârizhâne* numbers is recorded for this *kaza*.

The *avârizhânes* of the *Kureyş kazası* vary between 14.5 and 28.25 for the century. Similar to *Konya kazası*, there is stability in the numbers of *avârizhânes* from 1645 to 1687. After that, some fluctuations are seen. There is 25.86% overall increase in the total numbers of *avârizhânes* of the *kaza* between 1621 and 1699.

The *avârizhânes* in *Pirluganda kazası* vary between 24.5 and 21.5. Compared to the other *kazas* in the *liva*, there is no dramatic increase or decrease in the numbers of the *avârizhânes* for the century. There is 8.16% decrease in the total number of *avârizhâne* between 1621 and 1699.

The tax revenues of *Ereğli kazası* were reserved for endowments of the holy city of Medina, while the customary taxes were left for the cavalymen-*sipahis*, according to the *Karaman Kanunnamesi*.<sup>114</sup> It is for this reason that we are not able to see a consistent picture of the *avârizhânes* in the *kaza*. There are no registered *avârizhânes* for the *kaza* from 1621 to 1642, and again from 1654 to the end of the century. For the intervening period, 1643 to 1652 show assessments ranging from 27.25 *avârizhânes* to a high of 76. Either there was a temporary influx of non-exempt tax payers, or the government attempted but ultimately failed to revoke the tax-exempt status of whole or part of the *kaza*. Table 2.6 shows 9 different registers in which *avârizhânes* were registered for the *kaza* for a

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<sup>114</sup> See Mehmet Akif Erdoğan, "Karaman Vilâyeti Kanunnameleri", *OTAM*, (1993), p.491, 512-513; Ahmet Akgündüz; *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri ve Hukuki Tahlilleri*, vol.3, (Istanbul, 1991), p.325, 326 and 327.



ten-year period, 1642-1652, while there are no registered *avârizhânes* for the *kaza* to the turn of the century.

According to the *Karaman Kanunnamesi* no *avâriz* levies were collected from Eskiil *kazası* either, since the majority of its population were Türkmen who provided horses for the central government in return for exemption from all customary and extraordinary levies, including those of *avâriz* and *nüzul*.<sup>115</sup> For this reason there were no registered *avârizhânes* for the *kaza* in most of the registers studied. A small number of *avârizhânes* are shown for 1621, 1628, 1640 and 1641, and again after 1688. There are some *avârizhânes* which were registered together with Akçaşehir *kazası* in other registers.<sup>116</sup> There is some difficulty because sometimes Eskiil appears in Akçaşehir or the vice versa.

This raises the interesting question of: Did the other *livas* within the province experience similar increase or decrease patterns for the century.

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<sup>115</sup> See Ahmet Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri*, p.331: for the full description, see the section on "Kanunname-i Kebail-i esp-keşan der Vilâyet-i Karaman", pp. 331-335.

<sup>116</sup> For the details see table 2.6 above.

**Table 2.7: *Avârizhânes* in each *kaza* as a percentage of the total for the *liva* of Konya**

	1621 %	1628 %	1640 %	1643 %	1657 %	1673 %	1686 %	1691 %	1699 %
<b>Konya</b>	51.4	50.7	50.4	42.4	46.7	46.8	46.4	47.5	46.6
<b>Kureys</b>	2.4	2.4	2.4	3	3.4	3.4	3.4	2.5	2.1
<b>Aladağ</b>	4.5	4.6	5.6	5.8	6.4	6.4	6.5	6.6	7.1
<b>Pirluganda</b>	4.1	3.6	4	2.4	2.7	2.7	2.8	2.8	3.1
<b>Belviran</b>	8.1	8.2	8	6.3	7.3	7.3	7.4	7.4	7.8
<b>Gaferyad</b>	6	6.1	5.8	5.9	6.1	4.6	3.7	2.7	3
<b>Eskiil</b>	2.7	2.4	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
<b>Akçaşehir</b>	1.6	1.6	---	1.5	1.8	1.8	1.8	1.9	2.1
<b>Insuyu</b>	2.2	2.3	2.5	5.8	4.8	4.8	4.9	4.9	5.3
<b>Larend</b>	17	17.3	16.9	18	20.3	21.9	21.9	16	17.1
<b>Ereğli</b>	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

**Table 2.8: Increase and decrease in the number of *avârizhânes* in the *liva* of Konya as percentage between 1621-1699**

Konya	Kureys	Aladağ	Pirluganda	Belviran	Gaferyad	Eskiil	Akçaşehir	Insuyu	Larend	Ereğli
+10.44	+25.86	+91.66	-8.16	+17.61	-38.19	----	+60.5	+187	+22.02	---



### 2.2.2 Niğde Livası

The 1621 register shows the *liva* of Niğde as containing the largest number of *avârizhânes* in the province, just slightly more than Konya. Table 2.9 shows the *liva* of Niğde<sup>117</sup> having the same trend as the other *livas* in the province in terms of both increase and decrease in the number of *avârizhânes*. Like the *liva* of Konya the greatest fluctuation in, and also the highest totals of, *avârizhânes* occurred in the years up to c.1657, with relative stabilization and renewed variations to the end of the century. From a starting point of 601.75 *hânes* in 1621, it was reduced to 524 *hânes* in 1628, 445.75 *hânes* in 1640. It sank to 418 *hânes* in 1642 and then rose to 493 *hânes* in 1643. The apparent fluctuation in the number of *avârizhânes* in the *liva* in the years 1641/2, 1643 and 1645 are due to the fact that a new *avârizhâne* survey was carried out in those particular years as the expression of '*ber muceb-i tahrir-i cedit*' in the registers of MM3845 and MM2604 are evidence of this. The *avârizhânes* of the *liva* increased to 526.25 *hânes* in 1648 and it was again reduced to 465.25 *hânes* in 1651. A relatively high decrease in the number of *avarizhânes* in *Niğde livası* is recorded for the years 1652-1660 (with the totals between 466.25 and 433.5). A slow decrease in the numbers of *avârizhânes* recorded in blocks is apparent for the years of 1664-1676 (with the totals between 405.25 and 403.25) with one exception, that of 1670 (with 434.75), and then there is an increase in the total *avârizhânes* for the years

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<sup>117</sup> For population and the change in the *liva* of Niğde during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, see Mustafa Oflaz, *16.Yüzyılda Niğde Sancağı*, (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Ankara Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Ankara, 1992).

1678-1681 (with the total 410.25) and 1686-1688 (with the total 408.25). Totals below 408.25 in the 1690s are lower than at any other time under study.



**Table 2.9: *Avârizhânes* by *kazas* in the *liva* of Niğde, 1621-1700**

Register	Date	Ürgüb	Anduğu	Şucaeddin	Koçhisar
MM2751	1621	110	41.5	17.5	47.5
MM3862	1628	110	40.5	17.5	45.5
KK2587	1640	106.5	34	15.5	50.5
MM3382	1640	----	34	-----	50.5
MM3845	1641/2	106.5	34	15.5	50.5
MM3074	1642	121	38.5	---	50
KK2604	1643	123	38.5	15.5	35
BMTC		137.25	45	15.5	30.25
MM2808	1645	137.25	45	36 (15.5) <sup>118</sup>	---
MM3832	1648	137.25	45	36	---
MM3835	1649	136.25	44.5	26	---
MM4950	1650	121	38.5	21(15.5) <sup>119</sup>	50.5
MM2787	1651	136.25	44.5	26 (15.5)	9
MM1980	1651	136.25	44.5	10.5 <sup>120</sup>	9
MM3844	1652	136.25	44.5	10.5	9
MM2989	1654	136.25	45	10.75	9
KK2623	1655	134.5	45	10.5 (15.5)	9
MM3847	1656	134.75	45	11.75 (15.5)	9
KK2625	1657	133.75	45	11.75 (15.5)	9
MM3850	1658	129.75	45	11.75 (15.5)	9
MM2749	1658	129.75	45	11.75 (15.5)	9
MM3810	1660	131.75	45	11.75 (15.5)	----
MM3067	1664	----	----	-----	----
MM3354	1665	----	----	-----	-----
MM2783	1665	----	----	-----	----
MM3836	1668	131.75	45	-----	----
KK2653	1670	131.75	45	11.75 (15.5)	----
MM7857	1670	131.75	45	11.75 (15.5)	----
KK2651	1670	131.75	45	11.75 (15.5)	----
MM3003	1671	131.75	45	----	----
MM3834	1671	131.75	45	----	----
MM2790	1672	131.75	45	11.75 (15.5)	----
MM2412	1673	131.75	45	11.75 (15.5)	----
KK2659	1674	131.75	45	(11.75) (15.5) <sup>121</sup>	----
MM2505	1675	131.75	45	(27.25) <sup>122</sup>	----
KK2665	1676	131.75	45	(27.25)	----
MM3841	1678	131.75	45	----	----
MM3809	1679	131.75	45	----	----
MM3837	1680	131.75	45	----	----
MM3830	1681	131.75	45	(27.25)	----
MM9480	1686	131.75	45	----	----
MM2805	1687	131.5	45	----	----
MM3839	1688	131.5	45	----	----
MM16085	1690	----	----	----	----
MM2793	1691	129.5	30	----	----
MM2471	1692	129.5	30	----	----
MM2987	1694	----	----	----	----
MM3807	1696	126.75	30	----	----
MM3820	1699	124.75	30	----	----

<sup>118</sup> These 15.5 out of 36 *avârizhânes* are identified in the register as "*hâneha-i ocaklık-i kârhâne-i bor*". Cf MM2808, p. 41.

<sup>119</sup> These 15.5 out of 21 *avârizhânes* are identified in the register as "*be-cihet-i kârhâne-i bor*". Cf MM4950, p. 48.

<sup>120</sup> The register did not list *hânes* for *ocaklık* in this year. Cf MM1980, p. 42.

<sup>121</sup> The register lists 27.25 *hâne* but does not include them in the general total.

<sup>122</sup> The register lists 27.25 *hâne* but does not include them in the general total.

Date		Develü	Niğde	Bor	Çamardı	Total
MM2751	1621	50	277.5	46.5	13.25	601.75[603.75]
MM3862	1628	50	200	46.5	13	524{523}
KK2587	1640	47	194.5	42	13.25	445.75[503.25]
MM3382	1640	47	194.5	---	13.25	339.25
MM3845	1641/2	47	194.5	42	13.25	418.5
MM3074	1642	49.75	146.75	---	12	418
KK2604	1643	49.75	147	20	12	440.75
BMTC		58.5	163	31	12.5	493
MM2808	1645	58.5	163	73	12.5	476.75 [including <i>ocaklik</i> , 525.25]
MM3832	1648	58.5	164	73	12.5	526.25
MM3835	1649	58.5	163	73	12.5	513.75
MM4950	1650	49.75	146.75	62 (42) <sup>123</sup>	12	501.5 <sup>125</sup>
MM2787	1651	58.5	163	73 (42)	12.5	522.75 <sup>126</sup>
MM1980	1651	58.5	163	31 <sup>124</sup>	12.5	465.25
MM3844	1652	58.5	163	31	12.5	465.25
MM2989	1654	58	163.75	31	12.5	466.25 <sup>127</sup>
KK2623	1655	57	163.75	18.5 (42)	12.5	451 <sup>128</sup>
MM3847	1656	57	161.75	18.5 (42)	12.5	449.25
KK2625	1657	57	160.75	18.5 (42)	12.25	448
MM3850	1658	53	160.75	18.5 (42)	12.25	440
MM2749	1658	53	160.75	18.5 (42)	12.25	440
MM3810	1660	54.5	159.75	18.5 (42)	12.25	433.5
MM3067	1664	----	----	----	----	405.25
MM3354	1665	----	----	----	----	405.25
MM2783	1665	----	----	----	----	405.25
MM3836	1668	56.5	160	----	11.25	404.5
KK2653	1670	56.5	160	(18.5) (42)	11.25	404.5 (434.75)
MM7857	1670	54.5	159.25	18.5 (42)	12.25	433 <sup>129</sup>
KK2651	1670	56.5	160	18.5 (42)	11.25	434.75 <sup>130</sup>
MM3003	1671	56.5	160	----	11.25	404.5
MM3834	1671	56.5	160	----	11.25	404.5
MM2790	1672	56.5	160	(18.5) (42)	11.25	404.5 (434.75)
MM2412	1673	55.25	160	(18.5) (42)	11.25	403.25 (433.5)
KK2659	1674	55.25	160	(18.5) (42)	11.25	403.25 (433.5)
MM2505	1675	55.25	160	(60.5)	11.25	403.25 (433.5)
KK2665	1676	65.25	160	(60.5)	11.25	410.25
MM3841	1678	62.25	160	(60.5)	11.25	410.25
MM3809	1679	62.25	160	----	11.25	410.25
MM3837	1680	62.25	160	----	11.25	410.25
MM3830	1681	62.25	160	(60.5)	11.25	410.25
MM9480	1686	62	162	----	7.5	408.25
MM2805	1687	62.25	161	----	8.5	408.25
MM3839	1688	62.25	162	----	8.5	408.25
MM16085	1690	----	----	----	----	402.25
MM2793	1691	58.25	160.5	----	7	385.25
MM2471	1692	58.25	160.5	----	7	385.25
MM2987	1694	----	----	----	----	385.25
MM3807	1696	58.25	160.5	----	7	382.5
MM3820	1699	57.25	160.75	----	5.25	379.5

<sup>123</sup> The 42 *avârizhânes* out of 62 *hânes* are identified in the register as "*be cihet-i kârhâne.*", cf. MM4950, p. 48.

<sup>124</sup> The information in the register indicate that the 31 *avârizhâne* does not include *ocaklik* since the text makes it clear by telling us "*gayr ez ocaklik-i barut-i siyah bor hâne 31.*" Cf MM1980, p.42.

<sup>125</sup> 418.5 Excluding *ocaklik*.

<sup>126</sup> 465.25 Excluding *ocaklik*.

<sup>127</sup> In the text the total *avârizhânes* given mistakenly as 464.5.

<sup>128</sup> Although the total *avârizhânes* is given as 451, actual calculation should be 450.75. See the *defter*.

<sup>129</sup> Including *ocaklik* 491.



Although table 2.4 above shows that in relative percentage terms, Niğde's importance in revenue assessment increased slightly in the second half of the century after 1643, than if the higher assessments of 1621 and 1628 were taken into account the figures show an overall decline (-36.93%) in the total numbers of *avârizhâne* for the *liva* as a whole. Having said that however it is clear from the data (table 2.9) that the registration status of *Niğde kazası*, the principal population centre of the *liva*, remained virtually unchanged (at c.160 *hânes*) and the second most populous, *Ürgüb kazası*, also remained very steady at c.130 *avârizhânes* throughout the period 1660-1699. The overall change in the number of *avârizhânes* in neither of these two support the general trend seen for the *liva*. Minute examination of the data reveals that from 1660 there is no data being reported for the *kaza* of Koçhisar and from 1675 onwards there is no data being reported for the *kaza* of Şücaeddin and Bor. Therefore, the significant part of the apparent fall after 1670 is thus accounted for by the non-reporting of 3 of the *liva's* 6 *kazas*. If we return to the level of *liva* totals, apart from the big apparent drop between 1660 and 1674 from 433.5 to 403.25 another decline was recorded between 1686 and 1699 from 408.25 to 379.5 a decline of 28.75 *hânes* or 7%. This was part of a general trend seen in the province and closely mirrored general government fiscal policy of tax leniency towards the province of Karaman as a whole during the period under study.

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<sup>130</sup> Total *avârizhânes* in the defter is given as 404.5, but the actual calculation is much different from that. See the *defter*.

### **The *avârizhânes* of *kazas* in *Niğde livası***

*Avârizhânes* in the *kaza* of Niğde itself generally account for between 33.06% and 43.63% of the total during the period under study, with one exception, that of 45.9% in 1621. In 1658 at the beginning of stability, the 160.75 *avârizhânes* of the *kaza* of Niğde represented 36.5% of the total 440 for the whole *liva*; there were big changes in numbers of the *avârizhânes* of the *kaza* of Niğde from 1640 onwards. The *avârizhânes* of Niğde varied between 194 and 146.75 from 1640 to 1650. From 1651 to 1699 the number of *avârizhânes* in Niğde varied only between 163 and 160.75, which is an insignificant difference of 3.75 *hânes*.

Ürgüb is the second largest *kaza* in *avâriz* terms, containing on average 28%-32% of the total. The *kaza* experienced the only overall increase (13.40%) in the total number of *avârizhânes* in the entire *liva* between 1621 and 1699. The *avârizhânes* of the *kaza* of Ürgüb varied between 110 and 123 from 1621 to 1643, between 137.25 and 129.5 from 1645 to 1692. The *avârizhânes* varied only by 7.75 *hânes* from 1643 to 1692, and then by 4.75 *hânes* to the turn of the century.

Develü is the third largest *kaza*, with 10.5% increase in *avârizhâne* terms between 1621 and 1699, containing on average 8.2%-15% of the total, as assessment varied only by 13 *hânes* throughout the century. After Niğde, Ürgüb and Develü, the importance of the remaining *kazas* during the seventeenth century is: Anduğu (containing c.8%-10% of the total *hânes*), Bor<sup>131</sup> (between c.7.5% and 4.5%), Şücaeddin (varying between 2.6% and 3%), and Çamardı (varying between 2% and 2.7%).



The registered number of *avârizhânes* for the *kaza* of Anduğu showed a little fluctuation over the period 1621 to 1688. From a starting point of 41.5 *hânes* in 1621, it reduced to 34 *hânes* in 1641, then rose to 38.5 *hânes* in 1643 and some variations up to c. 1654 and it frozen at 45 *hânes* up to 1688. After that, an important drop in the number of *avârizhânes* reported which is an overall decrease of 27.7% ( $30/41.5 = 11.5$  or - 27.7%).

Some cases found in the documents consulted in which the revenues of designated *avârizhânes* were assigned on more or less permanent basis to support the imperial enterprises i.e. saltpetre, gunpowder factories on long-term basis to the support of certain institutions in a system called *ocaklık*.<sup>132</sup> Marginal notes in the registers MM4950 dated 1060/1650, MM2787 and MM1980 both dated 1061/1651 show that *avârizhâne* numbers in Bor and Sücaeddin were cut almost by half which had a profound effect on the general trend for the *liva* as a whole. The total number of *avârizhâne* listed in 1651 for Bor is 73. 42 out of 73 *avârizhânes* were assigned to support the gunpowder factory in Bor and only 31 *hânes* listed for *avâriz*. Similarly, the number of *avârizhâne* listed in 1651 for Şücaeddin is 26 *hânes*. 15.5 *hâne* out of 26 *avârizhânes* assessed for Sücaeddin were assigned to support the gunpowder factory in Bor and only 10.5 *hânes* listed for *avâriz*.<sup>133</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> For the socio-economic life in the *kaza* of Bor, see Mustafa Korkmaz, *Şer'iyye sicillerine göre 17. yüzyılda Bor'da sosyal ve ekonomik hayat*, (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Hacettepe Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Ankara, 1995).

<sup>132</sup> See also Darling, Revenue-Raising, p. 165,175 and 176.

<sup>133</sup> "kaza-i bor hâne 73- be cihet-i Ocaklık-i kâr hâne-i barut-i siyah der Bor - hâne 42- be cihet-i avâriz hâne 31. kaza-i şücaeddin hâne 26, be cihet-i Ocaklık-i kâr hâne-i barut-i siyah der Bor - hâne 15.5- be cihet-i avâriz hâne 10.5.", MM2787, p. 40; "kaza-i bor gayr ez ocaklık 31, kaza-i şücaeddin gayr ez ocaklık 10.5", MM1980, p. 42; "Der liva-i Niğde kaza-i Bor, kaza-i Sücaeddin, zikr olunan kadılıklar mukaddema 57 hâne olub bor kâr hânesine Ocaklık olmağla 57 hâne ref

The registered number of *avârizhânes* for the *kaza* of Bor showed a considerable fluctuation over the period 1621 to 1651. From a starting point of 46.5 *hânes* in 1621, it sank to 20 in 1643, then rose dramatically to 73 in 1645. The register MM3844 dated 1652 notes that 12.75 *hânes* taken away from Bor's existing *hânes* i.e. 31 *hânes* and registered in the village of kilisehisar(?).<sup>134</sup> Therefore, from 1654 to 1674 the number of *avârizhânes* listed for Bor reduced to 18.5 *hânes*. From 1675 to 1681 60.5 *hânes* listed in registers for Bor but they were not included in the general total at all, and from 1686 onwards the *avârizhânes* of Bor disappeared, in other word, not listed at all in the registers. The sudden disappearance of the *avârizhânes* from the scene in Bor are due to extention of certain services i.e. supporting gunpowder factory to those of the remaining *hânes* in Bor.

The registered number of *avârizhânes* for the *kaza* of Şücaeddin showed a relative fluctuation up to c.1651. From a starting point of 17.5 *hânes* in 1621, it decreased to 15.5 *hânes* in 1643, then rose dramatically to 36 *hânes* in 1645 and stable figures thereafter. The sudden jump in the number of *avârizhânes* in 1645 is the direct result of the new survey as it was mentioned in the document explicitly.<sup>135</sup> It is also clear from the very same register that 15.5 *hâne* out of 36 were listed as *ocaklık* to support the gunpowder factory in Bor. So, only 20.5 *hâne* were listed for *avâriz* in the year 1645.<sup>136</sup> It appears from the registers MM1980 dated 1651, MM3844 dated 1652 and MM2989 dated 1654 that the *avârizhânes* of the *kaza*

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olunmuş idi lakin badehu tahrir olundukda 25.5 *hâne* ziyade olmağın *avâriz* defterine kayd olunmuşdur. Ber muceb-i karhâne-i bor kadim *hâne* 57.5. Ber muceb-i tahrir-i cedit *hâne* 62 (kaza-i bor), Sücaeddin *hâne* 21" cf. MM4950, p. 48.

<sup>134</sup> "Bor *hâne* 31/12.25 *hâne* ref şud an karye-i kilisehisar", MM3844, p. 41.

<sup>135</sup> "Şücaeddin, *hâneha-i avâriz an ziyade-i tahrir-i cedit hâne* 20.5", MM2808, p. 41.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid.



show considerable fall in their total. In these years the *hânes* registered as *ocaklık* were not listed, which caused this dramatic fall.<sup>137</sup> A different picture emerges from 1675 onwards. In 1675 and 1676 the register lists 27.25 *hânes* with no references how many of them were listed as *avâriz* or *ocaklık*. It is also clear from the register that it was also the case in the *kaza* of Bor (with total 60.5 *hânes*). What is more interesting is that none of these were included in the general total in the *liva* total (table 2.9), and after 1681 nothing was reported for both the *kaza* of Şücaeddin and Bor. This sudden disappearance of the *avârizhânes* suggest that all the registered *hânes* for both *kazas* were assigned to support the gunpowder factory in Bor and therefore they were not listed as eligible tax-payers for *avâriz* levies and consequently they were kept exempt from those impositions.

The registered number of *avârizhânes* for the *kaza* of Koçhisar showed relative fluctuation up to 1651. From a starting point of 47.5 *hânes* in 1621, it decreased to 45.5 in 1643, then rose dramatically to 50.5 in 1642 and then reduced to 30.25 in 1645, then it rose to 50.5 in 1650. A different picture emerges between 1651 and 1658 during which time 9 *hâne* are reported in Koçhisar's place in the registers. Interestingly, the *kaza* stopped reporting its *avârizhânes* in the *liva* of Niğde and began to report rather in a different place, *Aksaray livası*, from 1660 onwards.

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<sup>137</sup> "kaza-i şücaeddin gayr ez ocaklık-i barut-i siyah hâne 10.5", MM1980, p. 42.

**Table 2.10: *Avârizhânes* in each *kaza* as a percentage of the total for the *liva* of Niğde<sup>138</sup>**

	1621	1628	1640	1643	1657	1673	1686	1691	1699
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Ürgüb	18.2	20.9	23.8	27.8	29.8	32.6	32.2	33.6	32.8
Anduğu	6.8	7.7	7.6	9.1	10	11.1	11	7.7	7.9
Şücaeddin	2.9	3.3	3.4	3.1	2.6	2.9	2.8	3	3
Koçhisar	7.8	8.6	11.3	6.1	2	2.2	---	---	---
Develü	8.3	9.5	10.5	11.8	12.7	13.7	15.1	15.1	14.5
Niğde	46.1	38.1	43.6	33	35.8	39.6	39.6	41.6	42.3
Bor	7.7	8.8	9.4	6.2	4.1	4.5	---	---	---
Çamardı	2.2	2.4	2.9	2.5	2.7	2.7	1.8	1.8	---

**Table 2.11: Increase and decrease in the number of *avârizhânes* in the *liva* of Niğde as percentage between 1621-1699**

Ürgüb	Anduğu	Şücaeddin	Koçhisar	Develü	Niğde	Bor	Çamardı
+13.40	-27.71	?	?	10.5	-42.07	?	-60

<sup>138</sup> Gaps in the table indicate no recorded *avârizhânes*.



### 2.2.3 Beyşehir Livası

Similar to *Niğde livası*, fluctuations in the total numbers of *avârizhânes* in *Beyşehir livası*<sup>139</sup> are seen in the period up to c.1650, with insignificant variations to the turn of the century. From 1621 to 1648 the number of *avârizhânes* in Beyşehir varied between 428.5 and 499, a difference of 70.5 *hânes*. From 1649 to 1688 the number of *avârizhânes* varied between 494.75 and 482.5, statistically an insignificant difference of 12.25 *hânes* for almost half a century.

The total number of *avârizhânes* during the century varied between 376.25 and 499 [509]. A slight decrease in the total numbers of the *avârizhânes* is recorded for the years 1648-1688 (with totals between 494.75 and 482.5), 1691-1699 (with totals between 476.5 and 468.25). The overall increase in the number of *avârizhânes* seen between 1621 and 1699 in the *liva* of Beyşehir is 9.27% ( $428.5/468.25 = +39.75$  *hâne*).

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<sup>139</sup> For population and change in the *liva* of Beyşehir in 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, see Mehmet Akif Erdoğan, *XV-XVI. Yüzyillarda Beyşehir Sancağı*, (PhD Thesis, Ankara Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Ankara, 1989).

**Table 2.12: *Avârizhânes* by *kaza* in the *liva* of Beyşehir, 1621-1700**

Register	Date	Beyşehir	Kucu-i Kebir	Yenişehir	Kırılı	Bozkırı	Seydişehir	Total
MM2751	1621	123	25	41	72	56.5	112	428.5 [429.5]
MM3862	1628	122	25	41	72	56.5	109	425.5
KK2587	1640	104	23	41	54.5	54	104.75	376.25 [381.25]
MM3382	1640	----	----	----	----	----	----	376.25
MM3845	1641/2	116.5	23	41	71	54	102.75	408.5
BMTC		133.25	45.75	34.75	74.25	59.25	96.5	433.5 [443.75]
MM3074	1642	116.5	23	41	71	54	102.75	408.25
KK2604	1643	133.25	45.75	34.5	64.25	59.25	96.5	433.5
BMTC		163.75	51	38.25	80	68	108	[509]
MM2808	1645	163.75	51	38.75	70	68	108	499
MM3832	1648	159.5	51	35.75	72.5	68	108	494.75
MM3835	1649	159.5	51	35.75	72.5	68	106	492.75
MM4950	1650	133.25	45.75	34.75	64.25	59.25	96.5	433.75
MM2787	1651	159.5	51	35.75	72.5	68	106	492.75
MM1980	1651	159.5	51	35.75	72.5	68	106	492.75
MM3844	1652	159.5	51	35.75	72.5	68	106	492.75
MM2989	1654	159.5	51	37.75	72.5	68	106	492.75
KK2623	1655	159.5	51	35.75	72.5	68	106	492.75
MM3847	1656	159.5	51	35.75	72.5	68	106	492.75
KK2625	1657	154.75	49	35.75	72.5	68	106	486
MM3850	1658	154.75	49	35.75	72.5	68	106	486
KK2627	1658	154.75	49	35.75	75.5	68	106	486
MM2749	1658	154.75	49	35.75	72.5	68	106	486
MM3810	1660	154.75	49	35.75	72.5	68	106	486
MM3067	1664	-----	----	----	----	----	----	485
MM3354	1665	-----	----	----	----	----	----	485
MM2783	1665	-----	----	----	----	----	----	485
MM3836	1668	154.5	49	35.75	72.5	67.25	106	485
KK2653	1670	154.5	49	35.75	72.5	67.25	106	485
MM7857	1670	154.75	49	35.75	72.5	67.25	106	486
KK2651	1670	154.5	49	35.75	72.5	67.25	106	485
MM3003	1671	154.5	49	35.75	72.5	67.25	106	485
MM3834	1671	154.5	49	35.75	72.5	67.25	106	485
MM2790	1672	154.5	49	35.75	72.5	67.25	106	485
MM2412	1673	154.5	49	35.75	72.5	67.25	106	485
KK2659	1674	154.5	49	35.75	72.5	67.25	106	485
MM2505	1675	154.5	49	37.75	72.5	67.25	106	485
KK2665	1676	154.5	49	37.75	72.5	67.25	106	485
MM3841	1678	154.5	49	37.75	72.5	67.25	106	485
MM3809	1679	154.5	49	37.75	72.5	67.25	106	485
MM3837	1680	154.5	49	37.75	72.5	67.25	106	485
MM3830	1681	154.5	49	37.75	72.5	67.25	106	485
MM9480	1686	154.5	49	37.75	72.5	67.25	103.5	482.5
MM2805	1687	154.5	49	37.75	72.5	67.25	103.5	482.5
MM2800	1688	151	48.25	32.25	72	66.25	92.25	462.5
MM3839	1688	154.5	49	35.75	72.5	67.25	103.5	482.5
MM16085	1690	----	----	----	----	----	----	482.5
MM2793	1691	154.5	49	35.75	72.5	67.25	97.5	476.5
MM2471	1692	153	47.25	35.75	72.5	67.25	97	472.75
MM2987	1694	----	----	----	----	----	----	473.75
MM3807	1696	151.75	49	35.75	72.5	67.25	95.5	471.75
MM3820	1699	151.5	47.25	35.25	72.5	66.25	95.5	468.25



### **The *avârizhânes* of *kazas* in the *Beyşehir livası***

The *avârizhânes* in the *kaza* of Beyşehir account for just 28.7% of the total in 1621, then around c.32% of the total for the years to come. The registered number of *avârizhânes* for the *kaza* of Beyşehir showed relative fluctuation up to 1650. From a starting point of 123 *hânes* in 1621, it decreased to 104 in 1640, then rose dramatically to 133.25 in 1641 and then rose to 163.75 in 1645, it decreased to 133.25 in 1650. From 1651 onwards the *avârizhânes* of the *kaza* varied between 159 *hânes* in 1651 and 154.5 *hânes* in 1691, and 153 *hânes* in 1692 and 151.5 in 1699. The *kaza* of Beyşehir experienced a significant increase (23.17%) in the total number of *avârizhânes* between 1621 and 1699. This overall increase in the number of *avârizhânes* is an exception compared to the general trend of the period as a whole during the period under study.

Seydişehir, the second largest *kaza* in *avâriz* terms, presents a rather different picture when compared to the *kaza* of Beyşehir in terms of the total number of *avârizhânes*. The *kaza* contains, on average, 20%-21.85% of the total with two exceptions: that of 26% in 1621 and 27.84% in 1640. The *avârizhânes* of the *kaza* varied between 112 and 95.5 during the century. From 1621 to 1648 the total numbers of *avârizhânes* varied between 112 and 108, just 4 *hânes*. The registered number of *avârizhânes* for the *kaza* showed some fluctuation up to 1650. From a starting point of 112 *hânes* in 1621, it reduced to 96.5 in 1641, then rose to 108 in 1643 and then reduced to 96.5 in 1650. No variation is found for the years 1651-1681, and the *avârizhânes* remained at 106 for thirty years. The *avârizhânes* of the *kaza* varied between 103.5 and 95.5 *hânes* from 1686 to the end of the century. The *kaza* of Seydişehir experienced a 14.73% decrease in the total

number of *avârizhânes* during the century. We have noted earlier that the *kaza* of Beyşehir has experienced an overall 23.1% increase in the number of its *avârizhânes* during the century. In the case of Seydişehir, however, we have seen that a 14.7% decrease in the total number of *avârizhânes* for the *kaza* as a whole. Looking at the *liva* level and the individual *kaza* totals it is possible that the increase in the number of *avârizhânes* in the *kaza* of Beyşehir may not only be attributed to natural causes but also the result of *avârizhâne* shift from the *kaza* of Seydişehir to that of Beyşehir and hence the decrease in the number of *avârizhânes* of the *kaza* of Seydişehir. Having said that, however, since the documents do not give such information therefore this should be treated speculative.

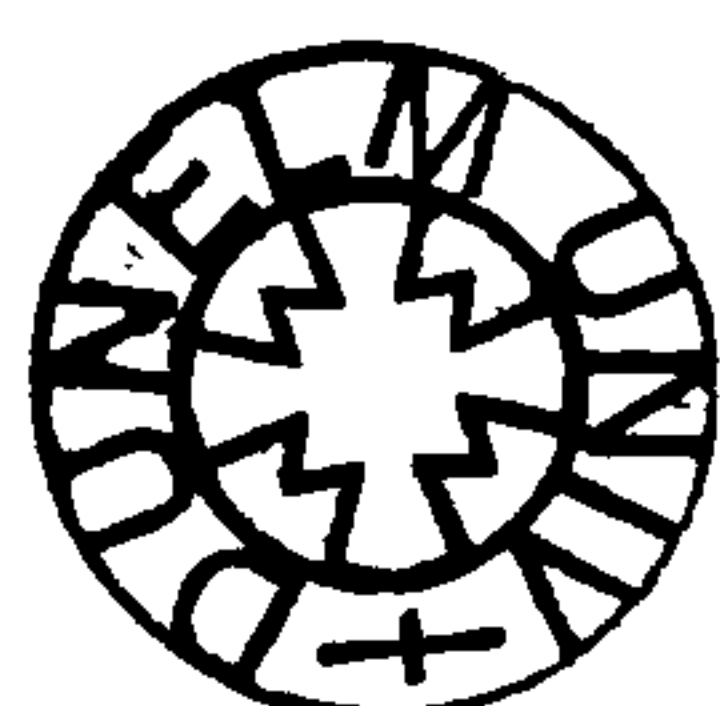
Kırili, the third largest *kaza* in *avâriz* terms, contains an average 15% of the total. The *avârizhânes* of the *kaza* varied between 71 and 72.5 throughout the century with a few exceptions, with 54.5 in 1640, and 64.25 in both 1643 and 1650. The *kaza* of Kırili experienced very little (0.69%) increase in the numbers of *avârizhâne* for the entire period.

After Beyşehir, Seydişehir and Kırili, the importance of the remaining *kazas* in *avârizhâne* terms, during the century was: Bozkırı (containing c.13% of the total *hânes*) with a 17.25% overall increase in the total *avârizhânes* for the period, Kucu-i kebir (varying between 5.8% and 10.10%) with a significant increase (89%) in the total number of *avârizhânes*, and Yenişehir (varying between 6.9% and 10.89%), with a 14.02% or 5.75 *hânes* decrease in the total *avârizhânes* for the period.



The *avârizhânes* in the *kaza* of Bozkırı varied between 54 and 68 during the century. The registered number of *avârizhânes* for the *kaza* also showed relative fluctuation up to 1643. From a starting point of 56.5 *hânes* in 1621, it was reduced to 54 *hânes* in 1640, then rose to 59.25 *hânes* in 1641 and then decreased to 54.5 *hânes* in 1642, and it again increased to 59.25 *hânes* in the following year. No variation is found for the years between 1643 and 1660 (with total 68 *hânes*), with the exception of the 1650 (with total 59.25 *hânes*) and the *avârizhânes* remained at 67.25 from 1668 onwards. A slight decrease in the total numbers of the *avârizhânes* is recorded for the year 1699 (with total 66.25 *hânes*). The *kaza* of Bozkırı experienced a significant overall increase of 17.2% or 9.75 *hânes* in the total number of *avârizhânes* during the period under study.

The *avârizhânes* in the *kaza* of Kucu-i kebir varied between 23 and 49 during the century. The registered number of *avârizhânes* for the *kaza* show relative fluctuation up to 1643. From a starting point of 25 *hânes* in 1621, it increased to 45.75 *hânes* in 1641, then reduced to 23 *hânes* in 1642 and then increased to 51 *hânes* in 1643. It remained steady at 51 *hâne* up to 1656 with one exception of the 1650 (with the total 45.75 *hânes*), and it reduced to 49 *hânes* in 1657. No variation is found for the years between 1657 and 1691 (with total 49 *hânes*). 47.25 *avârizhânes* recorded for the year 1692, 49 *hânes* in 1696. A slight decrease in the total numbers of the *avârizhânes* is recorded for the year 1699 (with total 47.25 *hânes*). The *kaza* of Kucu-i kebir experienced unprecedented overall increase of 89% or 22.25 *hânes* in the total number of *avârizhânes* during the period.



**Table 2.13: *Avârizhânes* in each *kaza* as a percentage of the total for the *liva* of Beyşehir**

	1621 %	1628 %	1640 %	1643 %	1657 %	1673 %	1686 %	1691 %	1699 %
<b>Beyşehir</b>	28.7	28.6	27.6	32.8	31.8	31.8	32	32.4	32.3
<b>Kucu-i kebir</b>	5.8	5.8	6.1	10.2	10	10.1	10.1	10.2	10
<b>Yenişehir</b>	9.5	9.6	10.8	7.6	7.3	7.3	7.8	7.5	7.5
<b>Kırili</b>	16.8	16.9	14.4	16	14.9	14.9	15	15.2	15.4
<b>Bozkırı</b>	13.1	13.2	14.3	13.6	13.9	13.8	13.9	14.1	14.1
<b>Seydişehir</b>	26.1	25.6	27.8	21.6	21.8	21.8	21.4	20.4	20.3

**Table 2.14: Increase and decrease in the number of *avârizhânes* in the *liva* of Beyşehir as percentage between 1621-1699**

<b>Beyşehir</b>	<b>Kucu-i kebir</b>	<b>Yenişehir</b>	<b>Kırili</b>	<b>Bozkırı</b>	<b>Seydişehir</b>
+23.17	+89	-14.02	+0.69	+17.25	-14.73



#### 2.2.4 Akşehir Livası

The variations in the total numbers of *avârizhânes* in *Akşehir Livası* seen in the period up to c.1650, are between 287.5 and 384.5, and between 171.25 and 393.5 for the century as a whole.<sup>140</sup> From a starting point of 290.5 *hânes* in 1621, it was reduced to 287.5 *hânes* in 1628, then rose to 353.25 *hânes* in 1641 and to 384.5 *hânes* in 1642, and it decreased to 353.25 *hânes* in 1650. An increase in the total numbers of the *avârizhânes* is recorded for the years 1651-1654 (with total 393.5), then a slow decrease in the total numbers of the *avârizhânes* for the years 1655-1686 (with totals between 384.25 and 386.25). From 1687 to 1699 the number of *avârizhânes* varied between 374.25 and 171.25. Compared to the previous variation this is a significant difference of 203 *hânes*. The precipitous drop in the number of *avârizhâne* figures given is due to the fact that in 1696 and 1699 the status of all *avârizhânes* in *Ilgun kazası* was changed that of tax-exempt *menzilciyan*. The overall decrease in the number of *avârizhânes* in the *liva* as a whole, therefore, for the period between 1621 and 1699, is 41%. Here the whole decline for the *liva* in the period concerned (1621 to 1699) amounted to 119.25 *hânes* (a drop from 290.5 *avârizhânes* in 1621 to 171.25 in 1699). If we count 132.25 *hânes* for the *kaza* of Ilgun from 1699 (171.25+ 132.25= 304), this gives the total 304 *hânes* which exceeds the figure for 1621. We have already exceed the *avârizhânes* figures in 1621 for 290.5. If we use this data in examining the *avârizhâne* trend then we have a situation (304-290 = +13.5) translates into a net increase for the whole century of 13.5/290.5= + 4.6 % which enable us to say that

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<sup>140</sup> For information on the population and change in the *liva* of Akşehir during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, see Alaeddin Ceylan, *Kanuni zamanında Akşehir kazası*. (Unpublished PhD Thesis, Selçuk Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Konya, 1993): 99-120.

the *liva* of Akşehir, in real term, experienced an increase of 4.6% over 78 years rather than a decrease of 41%.



**Table 2.15: *Avârizhânes* by *kaza* in the *liva* of Akşehir, 1621-1700**

Register	Date	Ilgun	Ishaklu	Akşehir	Doğanhisarı	Total
MM2751	1621	105.5	51	90	44	290.5
MM3862	1628	105.5	51	90	41	287.5
KK2587	1640	140.25	43	87	28.75	303.5 <sup>141</sup>
MM3382	1640	----	---	---	---	303.5
MM3845	1641/42	119.75	54.75	139.25	39.5	353.25
MM3074	1642	118.25	54.75	139.25	39.5	351.75
KK2604	1643	118.75	51.25	125	42	337 [336.75 intext]
BMTC		128.25	61.75	143	51	384.5
MM2808	1645	133.75	61.75	133	51.5	380
MM3832	1648	141	53.75	121.5	44.25	360.5
MM3835	1649	141.5	53.75	121.5	44.25	361
MM4950	1650	119.75	54.75	139.25	39.5	353.25
MM2787	1651	141.5	61.75	143	47.25	393.5
MM1980	1651	141.5	61.75	143	47.25	393.5
MM3844	1652	141.5	61.75	143	47.25	393.5
MM2989	1654	141.5	61.75	143	47.25	393.5
KK2623	1655	141.5	53.75	143	47.25	385.5
MM3847	1656	141.5	53.75	143	47.25	385.5
KK2625	1657	143.75	53.75	143	45.75	386.25
MM3850	1658	143.75	53.75	143	45.75	386.25
KK2627	1658	143.75	53.75	143	45.75	386.25
MM2749	1658	143.75	53.75	143	45.75	386.25
MM3810	1660	143.75	53.75	142	45.75	386.25
MM3067	1664	----	----	----	----	385.5
MM3354	1665	----	----	----	----	385.5
MM2783	1665	----	----	----	----	385.5
MM3836	1668	144	53.75	142	45.75	385.5
KK2653	1670	146.75	53.75	142	43.75	386.25
MM7857	1670	146.75	53.75	142	43.75	386.25
KK2651	1670	146.75	53.75	142	43.75	386.25
MM3003	1671	144	53.75	142	45.75	385.5
MM3834	1671	144	53.75	142	43.75	385.5
MM2790	1672	146.75	53.75	142	43.75	386.25
MM2412	1673	146.75	53.75	142	43.75	386.25
KK2659	1674	146.75	53.75	142	43.75	386.25
MM2505	1675	146.75	53.75	142	43.75	386.25
KK2665	1676	144.75	53.75	142	43.75	384.25
MM3841	1678	144.75	53.75	142	43.75	384.25
MM3809	1679	144.75	53.75	142	43.75	384.25
MM3837	1680	144.75	53.75	142	45.75	384.25
MM3830	1681	144.75	53.75	142	43.75	384.25
MM9480	1686	144.75	53.75	142	45.75	384.25
MM2805	1687	144.75	53.75	132	43.75	374.25
MM3839	1688	144.75	53.75	132	42	374.25
MM16085	1690	----	----	----	----	336
MM2793	1691	132.5	38.75+(12)*	93.5	42	306.75
MM2471	1692	132.5	36.25	93.5	42	305.75
MM2987	1694	----	----	----	----	305.75
MM3807	1696	(133)*	36.25	93.5	42	171.75
MM3820	1699	(132.25)*	36.25	93.5	42	171.75

\* *Menzil*.<sup>141</sup> The actual calculation is 299, though it was recorded as 303.5 in the *defter*.

### **The *avârizhânes* of *kazas* in the *Akşehir livası***

The *avârizhânes* in the *kaza* of Ilgun account for between 46.21% and 33% during the century. From 1621 to 1699, the *avârizhânes* of the *kaza* varied between 105 and 146.75, a difference of 41.75 *hânes*, which is to say 25.35% increase in total for the entire period. From a starting point of 105.5 *hânes* in 1621, it rose to 140.25 *hânes* in 1640 and then reduced to 119.75 *hânes* in 1641 and then to 118.25 *hânes* in 1642, and it again increased to 128.25 *hânes* in 1643, to 133.75 *hânes* in 1645, 141 *hânes* in 1648 and 141.5 *hânes* in 1649. The apparent fluctuation in the number of *avârizhânes* in the *kaza* of Ilgun in 1641 and 1643 are due to the new *avârizhâne* assessment which carried out in those particular years as the expression of '*ber muceb-i tahrir-i cedit*' in accordance with the newly made *avârizhâne* assessment/survey' in the registers of MM3845 and MM2604 are evidence of this. From 1651 to 1688 the number of *avârizhânes* varied between 141.5 and 146.75, an insignificant difference of 5.25 *hânes* for a 37-year period, while the *avârizhânes* varied between 132.25 and 133 for the years 1691-1699, with an insignificant difference of 0.75 *hânes* for an eight-year period. Re-classification of all Ilgun *avârizhânes* as tax-exempt *menzilciyan* in 1696 and 1699 has already been mentioned. Although in theory these *menzilciyan hânes* was still counted as *hâne* but the *avâriz/nüzul* collection was not made from those *hânes*.

Akşehir, the second largest *kaza* in *avârizhâne* terms, accounted for between 28% and 37.3% during the century. From 1621 to 1699, the *avârizhânes* of the *kaza* varied between 87 and 143, a difference of 56 *hânes*. From a starting point of 90 *hânes* in 1621, it was reduced to 87 *hânes* in 1640 and then rose to 139.75 *hânes*



in 1642 and then to 143 *hânes* in 1643, and it was again reduced to 121 *hânes* in 1649, and to 139.25 *hânes* in 1650. The apparent fluctuation in the number of *avârizhânes* in the *kaza* of Akşehir in 1641 and 1643 are due to the new *avârizhâne* assessment which were carried out in the region in those particular years.<sup>142</sup> From 1651 to 1687 the numbers of *avârizhânes* varied only between 143 and 142, an insignificant difference of 1 *hâne* for 36 years. On the contrary, the *avârizhânes* vary between 132 and 93.5 for the years 1688-1699, a significant difference of 38.5 *hânes* for an 11-year period, compared to the previous figure. However, the overall increase in the total number of *avârizhânes* for the whole period was 3.88%.

Ishaklu, the third largest *kaza* in *avârizhâne* terms, accounted for between 17.5% and 11.9% during the century. From 1621 to 1699, the *avârizhânes* of the *kaza* varied between 51 and 36.25, a difference of 14.75 *hânes*. From a starting point of 51 *hânes* in 1621, it was reduced to 43 *hânes* in 1640 and then rose to 54.75 *hânes* in 1642 and then to 61.75 *hânes* in 1643, and it was again reduced to 53.75 *hânes* in 1648, and again rose to 61.75 *hânes* in 1651. A decrease in the total numbers of the *avârizhânes* is recorded for the years 1654-1688 (with total 53.75.), then a dramatic decrease in the total numbers of the *avârizhânes* for the years 1691-1699 (with totals between 38.75 and 36.25). The precipitous drop in the number of tax-paying *avârizhâne* figures towards the end of the century are due to the fact that from 1691 onwards the status of 12 *avârizhânes* out of 50.75 *hânes* in Ishaklu *kazası* was changed that of tax-exempt *menzil* and consequently (-23.52%) decrease in the number of *avârizhânes*. Here the whole decline for the *kaza* in the period concerned (1621 to 1699) amounted to 14.75 *hânes* (a drop from 51

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<sup>142</sup> Cf. MM3845, MM3074 and KK2604.

*avârizhânes* in 1621 to 36.25 in 1699). If we count 12 *hânes* from 1691 ( $38.75 + 12 = 50.75$ ). We have already accounted for 50.75/51 a significant proportion of the whole loss. If we apply this for the following years we have a situation ( $36.25 + 12 = 48.25$ ) and ( $51 \text{ minus } 48.25 = 2.75$ ) translates into a net loss for the whole century of  $2.75/51 = \text{negative } 5.3\%$  which enable us to say that the *kaza* of Ishaklu experienced a normal modulation over 78 years of minus 5.3%.

The *avârizhânes* in *Doğanhisarı kazası* vary between 47.25 and 28.75 from 1621 to 1699. Compared to the other *kazas* in the *liva*, there is no dramatic overall increase or dramatic decrease in the numbers of the *avârizhânes* for the century. From a starting point of 44 *hânes* in 1621, it was reduced to 28.75 *hânes* in 1640 and then rose to 39.5 *hânes* in 1642 and then rising to 42 *hânes* in 1643, 51.5 *hânes* in 1645. The *avârizhânes* of the *kaza* decreased to 44.25 *hânes* in 1648 and 39.5 *hânes* in 1650. An increase in the total numbers of the *avârizhânes* is recorded for the years 1651-1656 (with total 47.25.), then a small decrease in the total numbers of the *avârizhânes* for the years 1657-1668 (with total 45.75). From 1668 to 1699 the numbers of *avârizhânes* varied only between 45.75 and 42, an insignificant difference of 3.75 *hânes* for 31 years. Taking these figures into consideration it becomes clear that the *kaza* of Doğanhisarı experienced a normal modulation of minus 4.54 % between 1621 and 1699.



**Table 2.16: *Avârizhânes* in each *kaza* as a percentage of the total for the *liva* of Akşehir**

	1621 %	1628 %	1640 %	1643 %	1657 %	1673 %	1686 %	1691 %	1699 %
<b>Ilgun</b>	36.3	36.6	46.2	33.3	37.2	37.9	37.6	43.1	43.5
<b>Ishaklu</b>	17.5	17.7	14.1	16	13.9	13.9	13.9	16.5	11.9
<b>Akşehir</b>	30.9	31.3	28.6	37.1	37	36.7	36.9	30.4	30.7
<b>Doğanhisarı</b>	15.1	14.2	9.4	13.2	11	11.3	11.9	13.6	13.8

**Table 2.17: Increase and decrease in the number of *avârizhânes* in the *liva* of Akşehir as percentage between 1621-1699**

<b>Ilgun</b>	<b>Ishaklu</b>	<b>Akşehir</b>	<b>Doğanhisarı</b>
+25.35	-28.92	+3.88	-4.54

### 2.2.5 Kayseri Livası

The registered number of *avârizhânes* in the *liva* of Kayseri showed a considerable fluctuation over the period 1621 to 1650. From a starting point of 420 *hânes* in 1621, it reduced to 395 *hânes* in 1628 and then rose to 387.75 *hânes* in 1640 and then rising to 550 *hânes* in 1641, 901.25 *hânes* in 1643 and 904.25 in 1645 for a net gain of 484.25 *hânes* over the course of 24 years. The apparent fluctuation in the number of *avârizhânes* in the *liva* in the years 1641, 1643 and 1645 are due to the fact that a new *avârizhâne* survey was carried out in those particular years as the expression of '*ber muceb-i tahrir-i cedit*' in the registers of MM3845 and MM2604. The increased assessment may have been due to a number of factors such as natural population increases, immigration, or inclusion of previously tax-exempt individuals. It may be that Kayseri had been routinely under-assessed for many years. On the other hand, this sudden jump in *avârizhâne* numbers may have been an error of judgement on the part of zealous surveyors who conducted the assessment. In 1649, the assessment was reduced by almost half back to a level close to that of 1641 and remained relatively stable at that level until the last quarter of the century. This is in contrast to the position in Konya where the higher assessment in 1643 was maintained more or less at that level for the rest of the century.<sup>143</sup> In Kayseri the 1643/1645/1648 assessment was clearly unspritable and the government acknowledge this by the significant reduction in 1649. Unfortunately no documents have yet come to light which can explain this further.



A slow decrease in total numbers of *avârizhânes* for the *liva* is recorded for the years 1652-1676 (with the totals between 514 and 506.25), and another decrease for the years 1678-1681 (with the total 463.75). The variation in the years 1686-1699 was between 499.75 and 447.25. The *liva* of Kayseri itself experienced a 6.48% increase in the total number of *avârizhânes* for the period.

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<sup>143</sup> See above table 2.6.

**Table 2.18: *Avârizhânes* by *kaza* in the *liva* of Kayseri, 1621-1700**

Register	Date	Kayseri	Karahisar and Yahyalu	Total
MM2751	1621	340	80	420
MM3862	1628	315	80	395
KK2587	1640	313.25	74.5	387.75
MM3382	1640	----	----	387.75
MM3845	1641/2	313.25	74.5	387.75
BMTC		459.75	90.25	550
KK2604	1643	755.75	147	901.25 [902.75]
MM2808	1645	756.75	147.25	904.25 <sup>144</sup>
MM3832	1648	754.25	147.25	901.25
MM3835	1649	425.25	87.5	513.5 [512.75]
MM4950	1650	459.75	90.25	550
MM2787	1651	423	87.5	508.5 [510.5]
MM1980	1651	415.5	86.25	506 [501.75]
MM3844	1652	414	86.25	499.75 <sup>145</sup>
MM2989	1654	426.75	87.75	514 [514.5]
KK2623	1655	426.75	41.5 [46.75]	514
MM3847	1656	422.75	86.75	510 [509.5]
KK2625	1657	420.25	86.25	506.5
MM3850	1658	420.25	86.25	506.25
KK2627	1658	420.25	86.25	506.25
MM2749	1658	420.25	86.25	506.25
MM3810	1660	422.75	86.75	509.75
MM3067	1664	----	----	511.25 [509.5]
MM3354	1665	----	----	511.25
MM2783	1665	----	----	511.25
MM3836	1668	426.25	86.25	512.75
KK2653	1670	426.75	86.75	513.25 [509.5]
MM7857	1670	422.75	86.75	509.25 [509.5]
KK2651	1670	426.75	86.25	513.25 [512.5]
MM3003	1671	426.25	86.25	511.25 [512.5]
MM3834	1671	426.25	86.25	511.25 [512.5]
MM2790	1672	428.25	86.25	514.5
MM2412	1673	424.25	86.25	510.5
KK2659	1674	424.25	86.25	510.5
MM2505	1675	424.25	86.25	510.5
KK2665	1676	424.25	(39.75) 39.75	510.5
MM3841	1678	424.25	(39.75) 39.75	463.75
MM3809	1679	424.25	(39.75) 39.75	463.75 [464]
MM3837	1680	424.25	(39.75) 39.75	463.75
MM3830	1681	424.25	(39.75) 39.75	463.75
MM9480	1686	412	77.5	489.5
MM2805	1687	421.75	77.75	499.75
MM3839	1688	421.75	77.75	499.25
MM16085	1690	----	----	489.25
MM2793	1691	402	77.75[Yahyalu39.75.Karahisar 37- Menzil 20]	499.5
MM2471	1692	402.25	77.75	479.5
MM2987	1694	----	----	461.5
MM3807	1696	390.75	61.25	451.75
MM3820	1699	386.25	61.25	447.25

<sup>144</sup> The actual calculation should be 904.<sup>145</sup> The actual calculation should be 500.25.



### **The *avârizhânes* of *kazas* in the *Kayseri livası***

*Avârizhânes* in the *kaza* of Kayseri itself generally accounted for between 80% and 86.36% of the total. There were no big changes in the number of the *avârizhânes* in the *kaza* from 1654 to 1681. The registered number of *avârizhânes* for the *kaza* of Kayseri showed a considerable fluctuation over the period 1621 to 1652. From a starting point of 340 *hânes* in 1621, it sank to 313.25 in 1640, then rose dramatically to 756.75 in 1645, gradually subsiding to a compromise position of 414 in 1652. From 1654 to 1688 the number of *avârizhânes* in Kayseri varied only between 426.75 and 412, relatively an insignificant difference of 14.75 *hânes*, while they varied between 402 and 386.25 from 1691 to 1699. The *kaza* itself experienced a significant overall increase (13.6%) in the total number of *avârizhânes* for the period between 1621 and 1699: rising from 340 *hânes* in 1621 to 386.25 in 1699 for a net gain of 46.25 *hânes* or 13.6% ( $46.25/340 = +13.6\%$ ) over the course of the century. It should be noted that Kayseri received a considerable number of migrants from the war-torn provinces of eastern Anatolia at the end of the sixteenth century due to frequent warfare on the Iranian front and the *Celâli* terror in Anadolu which constituted the reason for the continuing immigration.<sup>146</sup>

Karahisar and Yahyalı contain on average 13.6%-19% of the total. The *avârizhânes* of these *kazas* varied between 74.5 and 147.25 from 1621 to 1655, 86.75 and 86.25 from 1656 to 1675, and between 79.5 and 55.5 from 1676 to 1699. The *avârizhânes* varied by only 0.5 *hânes* from 1656 to 1675, then 24 *hânes*

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<sup>146</sup> See S. Faroqhi, *Men of modest substance: House owners and house property in seventeenth-century Ankara and Kayseri*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1987), pp. 43-47.

to the turn of the century. The most significant variation was by 72.75 *hânes* from 1621 to 1655. Karahisar and Yahyalu experienced a significant overall decrease (-23.43%) in the total number of *avârizhânes* for the period between 1621 and 1699.

To sum up, there is an increase of 6.48% in the number of *avârizhânes* between 1621 and 1699 in the *liva* of Kayseri as a whole, and 13.60% increase in the *kaza* of Kayseri as it was the case in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>147</sup> From these figures it is safe to say that during the 17<sup>th</sup> century there was continuous increase in the number of tax-paying population in Kayseri.

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<sup>147</sup> It has already been shown by Jennings that there were 2293 recorded individuals and 1425 *avârizhânes* in Kayseri in 1500 according to TT 33 dated 906/1500. The number of individuals in Kayseri rose to 2364 (1798 *hâne*) in 1523, 2139 individuals (1773 *hâne*) in 1530, 3530 individuals in 1550 and 8251 individuals (6015 *hâne*) in 1583/4. See R Jennings, "Urban Population", p.30-31.



**Table 2.19: *Avârizhânes* in each *kaza* as a percentage of the total for the *liva* of Kayseri**

	1621	1628	1640	1643	1657	1673	1686	1691	1699
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Kayseri</b>	80.9	79.7	80.7	83.8	82.9	83.1	84.1	80.4	86.3
<b>Karahisar and Yahyalu</b>	19.1	20.2	19.2	16.3	17	16.8	15.8	15.5	13.6

**Table 2.20: Increase and decrease in the number of *avârizhânes* in the *liva* of Kayseri as percentage between 1621-1699**

<b>Kayseri</b>	<b>Karahisar and Yahyalu</b>
+13.60	-23.43

### 2.2.6. Aksaray Livası

*Avârizhânes* in *Aksaray livası*<sup>148</sup> show a similar trend to the other *livas* within the *eyâlet*. A slow decrease in numbers of *avârizhânes* is again recorded in blocks for the years 1651-1660 (with the totals between 259.5 and 260.25), then another decrease for the years 1664-1686 (with the total 253). The variation in the years 1687-1699 was between 230 and 223.25. The *liva* of Aksaray experienced a dramatic increase (32.1%) in the total number of *avârizhânes* for the century. As mentioned earlier, a number of factors may have played a crucial role for this dramatic increase. It could be due to natural population increase, sudden immigration and the inclusion of previously tax-exempt individuals. In addition, *Koçhisar kazası* shifted from *Niğde livası* and started to reporting in *Aksaray livası* from 1643 onwards which made a great contribution to this significant increase for the *liva* as a whole.

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<sup>148</sup> For population and settlement in the *kaza* of Aksaray at the beginning of 16<sup>th</sup> century, see Doğan Yörük, *XVI. Asrın Başlarında Aksaray Kazası ve Kazanın İskanı*, (Unpublished MA Thesis, Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Konya, 1996).



**Table 2.21: *Avârizhânes* by *kaza* in the *liva* of Aksaray, 1621-1700**

Register	Date	Aksaray	Eyubili	Koçhisar	Total
MM2751	1621	100.5	68.5	---	169
MM3862	1628	100.5	68.5	---	169
KK2587	1640	91.5	50	---	141.5
MM3845	1641/2	91.5	50	---	141.5
MM3074	1642	42.5	56.75	---	99.25
KK2604	1643	63	62.25	35.25	160.5 [171.5in text]
MM2808	1645	73.75	62.5	31.25	167.5
MM3832	1648	73.75	62.5	31.25	167.5
MM3835	1649	165.25	62.5	31.25	258.75 [259]
MM4950	1650	42.5	56.75	---	99.25
MM2787	1651	165.25	63	31.25	259.5
MM1980	1651	165.25	63	31.25	259.5
MM3844	1652	165.25	63.5	31.25	260
MM2989	1654	165.25	63	31.25	259.5
KK2623	1655	165.25	63	31.25	259.5
MM3847	1656	165.25	63	31.25	259.5
KK2625	1657	165.5	63	31.25	259.75
MM3850	1658	165.5	63	31.25	259.75
KK2627	1658	166	63	31.25	260.25
MM2998	1658	----	----	----	260.25
MM2749	1658	165.5	63	31.25	259.75
MM3810	1660	166	63	24	253
MM3067	1664	----	----	----	253
MM3354	1665	----	----	----	253
MM2783	1665	----	----	----	253
MM3836	1668	166	63	24	253
KK2653	1670	166	63	24	253
MM7857	1670	166	63	25	253
KK2651	1670	166	63	24	253
MM3003	1671	166	63	24	253
MM3834	1671	166	63	24	253
MM2790	1672	166	63	24	253
MM2412	1673	166	63	24	253
KK2659	1674	166	63	24	253
MM2505	1675	166	63	24	253
KK2665	1676	166	63	24	253
MM3841	1678	166	63	24	253
MM3809	1679	166	63	24	253
MM3837	1680	166	63	24	253
MM3830	1681	166	63	24	253
MM9480	1686	166	40	24	230
MM2805	1687	166	40	24	230
MM3839	1688	166	40	24	230
MM16085	1690	----	----	----	230
MM2793	1691	166	40	24	230
MM2471	1692	166	40	24	230
MM2987	1694	166	---	---	230
MM3807	1696	166	---	---	227.25
MM3820	1699	166	---	---	223.25

### **The *avârizhânes* of *kazas* in the *Aksaray livası***

*Avârizhânes* in the *kaza* of Aksaray itself generally accounted for between 43% and 74% of the total. The *kaza* was largely responsible for an unprecedented increase (65.17%) in the total number of *avârizhânes* in the *liva* as a whole, during the century. The *avârizhânes* of Aksaray varied between 42.5 and 166 throughout the century. From 1621 to 1650, the number of *avârizhânes* in Aksaray varied between 42.5 and 165.25, a significant difference of 122.75 *hânes*, while they varied between 165.25 and 166 from 1651 to 1699, with only 0.75 *hâne* variation for almost half a century.

Eyübili, the second largest *kaza* in *avâriz* terms, contained, on average, 17%-40.5% of the total. Unlike the *kaza* of Aksaray, Eyübili experienced a significant decrease (-50.36%) in the total number of *avârizhânes* for the period. Totals vary between 50 and 62.25 from 1621 to 1650, and between 63 and 63.5 from 1650 to 1686. The *avârizhânes* remained only 40 *hânes* from 1687 to 1699, with 23.5 *hâne* variation from the mid-century to the turn of the century.

The *avârizhânes* of Koçhisar varied between 35.25 and 31.25 from 1643 to 1660, and remained stable at 24 *hânes* for the rest of the century. There is no reporting *avârizhânes* in the *kaza* of Koçhisar for the years between 1621 and 1643 due to the fact that Koçhisar was listed in the *liva* of Niğde and that it was started to report in the *liva* of Aksaray from 1643 onwards. Therefore, we do not have the registered *avârizhânes* figures for the earlier period. The *kaza* contained on average 20%-10% of the total, varying only by 11.25 *hânes* throughout the century. There are no *avârizhâne* numbers recorded in the register for 1694, 1696



or 1699 for both Eyübili and Koçhisar and yet the overall total of the *liva* clearly includes them more or less, as the figures in 1692.

**Table 2.22: *Avârizhânes* in each *kaza* as a percentage of the total for the *liva* of Aksaray**

	1621	1628	1640	1643	1657	1673	1686	1691	1699
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Aksaray</b>	59.4	59.4	64.6	43	63.7	65.6	65.6	72.1	74.3
<b>Eyubili</b>	40.5	40.5	35.3	36.4	24.2	24.9	24.9	17.3	17.9*
<b>Koçhisar</b>	---	---	---	20.5	12	9.4	9.4	10.4	7.7*

**Table 2.23: Increase and decrease in the number of *avârizhânes* in the *liva* of Aksaray as percentage between 1621-1699**

<b>Aksaray</b>	<b>Eyübili</b>	<b>Koçhisar</b>
+65.17	-50.36	?

\* The percentage shown here has been calculated approximately since the documents do not give the details for each *kaza* separately.



### 2.2.7 Kırşehir Livası

In contrast to the *livas* examined so far, *avârizhânes* in *Kırşehir livası* do not show a significant fluctuation in the number of *avârizhânes* in the early part of the period. They do show a significant overall decrease (-35.37%) in the total number of *avârizhânes* between 1621 and 1699. *Avârizhânes* recorded for the year 1621 and 1628 (total 224), and for the years 1640-1688 varied between 181 and 185. The variation in the years 1691-1699 is at a lowest level between 143.5 and 144.75.

It is clear, however, that most of the decline comes from two district: Hacibektaş whose registration status was cut in half between 1690 and 1699 from 30.75 to 16.75, and Süleymanlu-i kebir whose registration status was also cut dramatically on two separate occasions once from 70 to 45.25 between 1628 and 1640 and the second time between 1688 and 1691 from 45.25 to 20. A marginal note in MM2793 register dated 1103/1691 confirms that it was due to tax exemption status offered to those districts by the central government.<sup>149</sup> Here the whole decline for the *liva* in the period (1621-1699) amounted to 79.25 *hânes* (a drop from 224 *avârizhânes* in 1621 to 144.75 *avârizhânes* in 1699). If we count 50 *avârizhânes* from Süleymanlu-i kebir and 16.25 from Hacibektaş (66-16.75= net loss of 16.25). We have already accounted for 66.25/79.25 a significant proportion of the whole loss. What is left (79.25 - 66.25 = 13) translates into a net loss for the whole century of 13/224= - 5.8% which transforms the dramatic overall decrease (-35.37%) to 5.8% decrease over 68 years. That is to say the *liva* of Kırşehir experienced a modest decrease in its *avârizhâne* numbers which also observed for the province as a whole during the same period.

<sup>149</sup> "Hacibektaş ....bir cümle tekalifi örfiye ve şakkadan avâriz ve nüzul ve sürsat ve beldardan ve kürekçiden ve sair tekalif talebiyle rencide olunmamak ....mukaddema muaafnameleri bin yüz üç

**Table 2.24: Avârizhânes by kaza in the liva of Kirşehir, 1621-1700**

Register	Date	Kirşehir	Konur	Hacibektaş	Süleymanlu-i Kebir	Keskun	Total	
MM2751	1621	65.5	10.5	33	70	40	224	219
MM3862	1628	65.5	10.5	38	70	40	224	
KK2587	1640	56	10.5	30	45.25	40	181.75	
MM3382	1640	----	----	----	----	----	181.75	
MM3845	1641/2	56	10.5	30	45.25	40	181.75	
MM3074	1642	----	----	----	----	----	182.75	
KK2604	1643	56	10.5	31	45.25	40	182.75	
MM2808	1645	56	10.5	31	45.25	40	182.75	
MM3832	1648	56	10.5	31	45.25	40	182.75	
MM3835	1649	56	10.5	31	45.25	40	182.75	
MM4950	1650	56	10.5	30	45.25	40	181.75	
MM2787	1651	56	10.5	31	45.25	40	182.75	
MM1980	1651	56	10.5	31	45.25	40	182.75	
MM3844	1652	56	10.5	31	45.25	40	182.75	
MM2989	1654	56	10.5	31	45.25	40	182.75	
KK2623	1655	56	10.5	31	45.25	40	182.75	
MM3847	1656	56	10.5	31	45.25	40	182.5	
KK2625	1657	56	10.5	30.75	45.25	40	182.5	
MM3850	1658	56	10.5	30.75	45.25	40	182.5	
KK2627	1658	56	10.5	30.75	45.25	40	182.5	
MM2998	1658	----	----	----	----	----	181	
MM2749	1658	56	10.5	30.75	45.25	40	182.5	
MM3810	1660	56	10.5	30.75	45.25	40	182.5	
MM3067	1664	----	----	----	----	----	184	
MM3354	1665	----	----	----	----	----	184	
MM2783	1665	----	----	----	----	----	184	
MM3836	1668	57.5	10.5	31.75	45.25	40	185	
KK2653	1670	57.5	10.5	31.75	45.25	40	185	
MM7857	1670	56	10.5	30.75	45.25	40	182.5	
KK2651	1670	57.5	10.5	31.75	45.25	40	185	
MM3003	1671	57.5	10.5	30.75	45.25	40	184	
MM3834	1671	57.5	10.5	30.75	45.25	40	184	
MM2790	1672	57.5	10.5	31.75	45.25	40	185	
MM2412	1673	57.5	10.5	31.75	45.25	40	185	
KK2659	1674	57.5	10.5	31.75	45.25	40	185	
MM2505	1675	57.5	10.5	31.75	45.25	40	185	
KK2665	1676	57.5	10.5	31.75	45.25	40	185	
MM3841	1678	57.5	10.5	31.75	45.25	40	185	
MM3809	1679	57.5	10.5	31.75	45.25	40	185	
MM3837	1680	57.5	10.5	31.75	45.25	40	185	
MM3830	1681	57.5	10.5	31.75	45.25	40	185	
MM9480	1686	57.5	10.5	31.75	45.25	40	185	
MM2805	1687	57.5	10.5	31.75	45.25	40	185	
MM3839	1688	57.5	10.5	30.75	45.25	40	185	
MM16085	1690	----	----	----	----	----	159.75	
MM2793	1691	57.5	10.5	15.75	20	40	143.75	
MM2471	1692	57.5	10.5	15.75	20	40	143.75	
MM2987	1694	57.5	10.5	15.75	20	40	143.75	
MM3807	1696	57.5	10.5	15.75	20	40	143.75	
MM3820	1699	57.5	10.5	16.75	20	40	144.75	

(1103) senesi şabani'nın onbeşinci günü emr-i şerifim sadır olmuştur..... ba ferman-i ali kalemine kayd olundu fi 10 şevval 1103", MM2793, p. 65



### **The *avârizhânes* of *kazas* in the *Kırşehir livası***

*Avârizhânes* in the *kaza* of Kırşehir generally account for between 29.2% and 40% of the total. They varied between 65.5 and 56 throughout the century with a (12.21%) decrease in the total number of *avârizhânes*. From 1621 to 1665, the number of *avârizhânes* in Kırşehir varied between 65.5 and 56, a difference of 9.5 *hânes*, while there was not a single change in the number of *avârizhânes* of Kırşehir for the years 1668-1699, being 57.5 *hânes* annually, for the given period.

Süleymanlu-i Kebir, the second largest *kaza* in *avârizhâne* terms, experienced a very significant decrease of 71.4% in the total *avârizhânes* between 1621 and 1699. The *kaza* contains 13%-31.25% of the total. The *avârizhânes* of *kaza* of Süleymanlu-i kebir varied between 70 and 20 during the century; 70 from 1621 to 1628. The *avârizhâne* number remained at only 45.25 *hânes* from 1640 to 1688, with no *variation* for a forty-eight year period, reduced to 20 *hânes* for the years 1691-1699.

The *avârizhânes* of Keskun had the stability in *avârizhâne* terms throughout the century, 40 *hânes* with no variation for the century. The *kaza* contained, on average, 17%-27.7% of the total.

The *kaza* of Hacibektaş contained on average 11.5%-17% of the total. The *avârizhânes* of the *kaza* varied between 38 and 15.75 throughout the century. From 1621 to 1642, it varied between 38 and 30, and from 1643 to 1688, between 31 and 30.75, varying between 15.75 and 16.75 from 1691 to 1699, with only 1 *hâne* variation in the total. *Kaza* of Konur contained, on average, 4.6%-7.2% of the total. The *avârizhânes* of the *kaza* were 10.5 for the century.

**Table 2.25: *Avârizhânes* in each *kaza* as a percentage of the total for the *liva* of Kırşehir**

	1621 %	1628 %	1640 %	1643 %	1657 %	1673 %	1686 %	1691 %	1699 %
<b>Kırşehir</b>	29.2	29.4	30.8	30.6	30.6	31	31	40	39.7
<b>Konur</b>	4.6	4.6	5.7	5.7	5.7	5.6	5.6	7.3	7.2
<b>Hacibektaş</b>	14.7	16.9	16.5	16.9	16.8	17.1	17.1	10.9	11.5
<b>Süleymanlu-i kebir</b>	31.2	31.2	24.8	24.7	24.7	24.4	24.4	13.9	13.8
<b>Keskun</b>	17.8	17.8	22	21.8	21.9	21.6	21.6	27.8	27.6

**Table 2.26: Increase and decrease in the number of *avârizhânes* in the *liva* of Kırşehir as percentage between 1621-1699**

<b>Kırşehir</b>	<b>Konur</b>	<b>Hacibektaş</b>	<b>Süleymanlu-i kebir</b>	<b>Keskun</b>
-12.21	None	-49.24	-71.42	none



As mentioned in chapter 1, İçil was administratively speaking part of the province of Kıbrıs from 1570. For practical purposes, however, İçil continued to be included in the *avâriz/nüzul* registers for the province of Karaman and collection were made and recorded together with those of Karaman. For this reason the İçil figures are presented here as they appear in the registers but are not discussed in detail as being officially outside of the province of Karaman. Generally these figures show little change in *avârizhâne* numbers throughout the century.

**Table 2.27: *Avârizhânes* by *kaza* in the *liva* of İçil, 1621-1700**

Register	Date	Silifke	Bozdoğan	Sarıkavak	Kure-ı Nuri	Mamuriye and Anamur	Zeyne?
MM2751	1621	30	17	15	6	23	8
MM3862	1628	30	17	15	6	23	8
KK2587	1640	20	5	10	3	15	4
MM3382	1640	20	5	10	3	15	4
MM3845	1641/2	20	5	10	3	15	4
KK2604	1643	20	5	10	3	15	4
MM2808	1645	20	5	10	3	15	4
MM3832	1648	20	5	10	3	15	4
MM3835	1649	20	5	10	3	15	4
MM4950	1650	20	5	10	3	15	4
MM2787	1651	20	5	10	3	15	4
MM1980	1651	20	5	10	3	15	4
MM3844	1652	20	5	10	3	15	4
MM2989	1654	20	5	10	3	15	4
KK2623	1655	20	5	10	3	15	4
MM3847	1656	20	5	10	3	15	4
KK2625	1657	20	5	10	3	15	4
MM3850	1658	20	5	10	3	15	4
KK2627	1658	20	5	10	3	15	4
MM2998	1658	---	---	---	---	---	---
MM2749	1658	20	5	10	3	15	4
MM3810	1660	20	5	10	3	15	4
MM3067	1664	----	---	----	---	---	---
MM3354	1665	----	---	----	---	---	---
MM2783	1665	----	---	----	---	---	---
MM3836	1668	20	5	10	3	15	4
KK2653	1670	20	5	10	3	15	4
MM7857	1670	20	5	10	3	15	4
KK2651	1670	20	5	10	3	15	4
MM3003	1671	20	5	10	3	15	4
MM3834	1671	20	5	10	3	15	4
MM2790	1672	20	5	10	3	15	4
MM2412	1673	20	5	10	3	15	4
KK2659	1674	20	5	10	3	15	4
MM2505	1675	20	5	10	3	15	4
KK2665	1676	20	5	10	3	15	4
MM3841	1678	20	5	10	3	15	4
MM3809	1679	20	5	10	3	15	4
MM3837	1680	20	5	10	3	15	4
MM3830	1681	20	5	10	3	15	4
MM9480	1686	20	5	---	3	15	---
MM2805	1687	20	5	10	3	15	4
MM3839	1688	20	5	10	3	15	4
MM16085	1690	----	----	----	----	----	----
MM2793	1691	20	5	10	3	15	4
MM2471	1692	20	5	10	3	15	4
MM2987	1694	20	5	10	3	15	4
MM3807	1696	20	5	10	3	15	4
MM3820	1699	20	5	10	3	15	4



Register	Date	Mud	Sinanlu	Ermenek	Selendi	Gülner	Total
MM2751	1621	14	20	50	48	30	294
MM3862	1628	14	20	50	48	30	294
KK2587	1640	10	10	45	38	22	202
MM3382	1640	10	10	45	38	22	202
MM3845	1641/2	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
KK2604	1643	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
MM2808	1645	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
MM3832	1648	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
MM3835	1649	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
MM4950	1650	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
MM2787	1651	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
MM1980	1651	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
MM3844	1652	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
MM2989	1654	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
KK2623	1655	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
MM3847	1656	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
KK2625	1657	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
MM3850	1658	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
KK2627	1658	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
MM2998	1658	---	----	----	---	---	201.25
MM2749	1658	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
MM3810	1660	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
MM3067	1664	---	----	----	---	---	201.25
MM3354	1665	---	----	----	---	---	201.25
MM2783	1665	---	----	----	---	---	201.25
MM3836	1668	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
KK2653	1670	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
MM7857	1670	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
KK2651	1670	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
MM3003	1671	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
MM3834	1671	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
MM2790	1672	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
MM2412	1673	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
KK2659	1674	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
MM2505	1675	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
KK2665	1676	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
MM3841	1678	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
MM3809	1679	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
MM3837	1680	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
MM3830	1681	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
MM9480	1686	---	---	44.25	38	22	201.25
MM2805	1687	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
MM3839	1688	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
MM16085	1690	----	----	----	----	----	201
MM2793	1691	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
MM2471	1692	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
MM2987	1694	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
MM3807	1696	10	10	44.25	38	22	201.25
MM3820	1699	10	10	44.25	38	22	201

### 2.2.8 Interim conclusions

The number of *avârizhânes* in each *liva* indicates the relative size/wealth of each region, i.e. (in descending order) Konya, Kayseri, Beyşehir, Niğde, Akşehir, Aksaray, İçil and Kirşehir. İçil, and to a lesser extent, Kirşehir, do not follow the general pattern. Aksaray and Konya appear to have increased markedly in relative population size and/or wealth, while the *livas* of Niğde and Kirşehir have suffered significant falls, and remaining *livas* (discounting the exceptional İçil) show slight increases.

Interpreting this data with confidence is fraught with difficulty due to the number of unknown variables to be taken into account. Thus, the following factors would need to be considered. Is most of the variation in the number of *avârizhânes* in *Karaman eyâleti* the result of a normal demographic variation, because of the economic variations in the regional economy, and therefore because of continuous changes in the *avâriz* and *gerçekhâne* ratios? Or were there other factors involved? How much of this decline was attributable to the death of tax-payers beyond natural causes, and how much to their flight? The obvious decrease in the number of *avârizhânes* in certain areas may indicate significant population losses or impoverishment, or possibly a combination of both. Alternatively, changes in tax-exempt status could well be a crucial factor. There could also be a number of other reasons for these up and down figures during the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Other factors which are thought to have influenced areas like Karaman are the insecurity i.e. the *celâli* unrest in the region in the period between 1628 and 1658, and the unlawful activities of individual brigand gangs throughout the century; the unlawful activities of provincial administrators and officials i.e. *ehl-i örf*, *timar*-holders



etc.<sup>150</sup> Unfortunately for the period up to 1650s in which there is the greatest instability in *avârizhâne* numbers, the *avâriz* documents used here do not make any mention of *celâli* problems. We therefore cannot confirm from this material the assumption that *celâli* unrest caused major problems for Ottoman provincial administration.

Comparing the individual *liva* totals in table 2.3, with the exception of Kirşehir and İçil, the same pattern is generally evident of considerable fluctuation up to c.1656 and of several decades of relative stability thereafter. The sudden jump in the number of *avârizhânes* in the *livas* within the entire province for the years 1641, 1642 and 1643 is the direct result of the new surveys. Below this level, *kaza* totals show small but interesting variations which suggest a significant degree of population movement or of a change in circumstances, and therefore of re-assessment. Such variations may be taken as clear indicators of such changes. For example, in the case of Gaferyad in the *liva* of Konya it was clearly change either in population movement or in circumstances, possibly exemption status. In the case of Ereğli it was either due to a temporary influx of non-exempt tax payers, or that the government attempted but ultimately failed to revoke the tax-exempt status of whole or part of the *kaza*.

In certain *kazas* the number of *avârizhânes* was cut almost in half by granting the tax exemption status to a considerable number. Generally speaking, such tax-

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<sup>150</sup> For regional based case studies, for example, see Oktay Özel, *Changes in Settlement Patterns, Population and Society in Rural Anadolu: A Case Study of Amasya (1576-1642)*, (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Manchester, Manchester, U.K.1993); Ali Açikel, *Changes in settlement patterns, Population and Society in North Central Anadolu: A Case Study of the District of Tokat (1574-1643)*, (Unpublished PhD Thesis, the University of Manchester, Manchester 1999).

exemptions were granted during the times of war when the Ottoman government required war-related services rather than cash. Some cases show that the revenues of designated *avârizhânes* were assigned to support the imperial enterprises i.e. gunpowder factories on long-term basis as seen from a marginal notes in the registers MM4950 dated 1060/1650, MM2787 and MM1980 both dated 1061/1651. In bor and Sücaeddin a total of 87.75 *avârizhânes* were assigned to support imperial gun-powder factories in the 1690s, during the Ottoman-Holy League war in Hungary. Another example of this type is that of Süleymanlu-i kebir whose registration status also changed in two separate occasions between 1628 and 1640 and the second time between 1688 and 1691. A marginal note in MM2793 register dated 1103/1691 confirms that it was due to tax exemption status offered to those districts by the central government. Sometimes we have seen apparent contradictions in the *avârizhâne* figures in a given *liva* (table 2:15). The close examination of the data revealed that these changes are due to the fact that the status of all *avârizhânes* in *Ilgun kazası* in 1696 and 1699 was changed that of *menzilciyan* as it was the case for the *kaza* of Ishaklu which also experienced similar drop in the number of *avârizhâne* figures towards the end of the century.

Changes in the number of *avârizhânes* in the *kaza* totals could also be due to the recording of some *avârizhâne* from one particular *kaza* or *liva* in another. For example, we point out in table 2.14 that the *kaza* of Seydişehir experienced a 14.73% decrease in the total number of *avârizhânes* during the century; while the *kaza* of Beyşehir experienced an overall 23.1% increase in the number of its *avârizhânes* during the same period. The other *kazas* in this *liva*, with the



exception of Kırili, all show significant change. As these changes seem roughly balanced up and down, it is possibly that recording changes rather than population change are responsible. For example, the increase in the number of *avârizhânes* in the *kaza* of Beyşehir may not be attributable to natural causes so much as to *avârizhâne* shift from the *kaza* of Seydişehir. At a different level but similar result for registration, the *kaza* of Koçhisar stopped reporting its *avârizhânes* in the *liva* of Niğde and began to report rather in a different place, *Aksaray livası*, from 1660 onwards.

The dramatic decrease in the number of *avârizhânes* in certain *kazas* within the *livas* indicate that the Ottoman government was prepared to be flexible, responsive and willing to accept rational changes in the *avârizhâne* assessment. In certain areas i.e. in the *liva* of Kayseri from c.1618s we have seen some practical problems where people could not afford to make the annual payment and therefore asked for either re-assessment or correction in their status. The case of Kayseri also suggests that higher *avârizhâne* numbers do not always mean higher *avâriz* revenue, since the central government had some problem in achieving the tax revenues and therefore tolerated this significant drop in the registration status of the *liva* in order to be able to balance the *avârizhâne* numbers on the one hand and the people's ability to pay those taxes on the other. This is a clear example of the Ottoman fiscal and administrative pragmatism. Further evidence of complaints regarding the number of *avârizhânes* of the period and the rational changes in the number of *avârizhânes* assessed for particular village or settlement is discussed in greater detail in chapter 5.

### 2.3 The value of the *avârizhâne* registers for demographic study

Systematic work on the classical Ottoman tax registers of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries began in the period around 1940 and is still continuing. From a number of well-known studies we know that the peculiarities of Ottoman registration make it very difficult to extrapolate from the number of taxpayers recorded to the actual population. For this reason it has been suggested that both increase and decrease in the population trends in the Ottoman empire can only be established generally rather than specifically.<sup>151</sup> In comparison to the classical tax registers, there has been very limited study on the *avârizhâne* registers, and one cannot reach reasonable conclusions for empire-wide generalisation. For this reason, a number of questions need to be asked here. How can the figures given in these registers be interpreted in this historical context? What do they really represent? And, what do they indicate? Let us start to briefly answer these questions.

First of all, we must remember that the *avâriz icmal* registers were compiled essentially in the aftermath of a detailed survey whose purpose was to determine the existing taxable human resources in any region in the empire - but only for *avâriz* levies, and therefore did not include exempt persons. The registers also pose some technical problems which derive from the way in which they were compiled, and the reliability of the data in terms of the extent to which they represent the actual situation, is also often questionable.

How reliable is the data in the *avâriz* registers, pertaining to the actual number of tax-paying population in *Karaman eyâleti* during the 17<sup>th</sup> century? In this regard Erder and Faroqhi commenting on the classical Ottoman tax-registers, pointed out

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<sup>151</sup> Suraiya Faroqhi, "Taxation and Urban Activities in the Sixteenth-Century Anadolu", *IJTS*,



that "as the registers were compiled for tax purposes, even under the best of circumstances there must have been people who wished to evade the count".<sup>152</sup> Clearly, this would also apply to *avâriz* assessment. The usefulness of the data contained in the *avâriz* registers for the population estimation in the Ottoman empire, therefore depends on our understanding of how the figures in these registers were compiled. Different reasons and methods may have been applied for the *avâriz* surveys undertaken either in the Balkan parts of the empire or Anadolu, therefore it must be kept in mind that each register has to be examined in its specific locality and context, and not beyond the contexts that the register concerns.<sup>153</sup>

Darling stressed the potential of these registers for population studies, although she, herself, did not make any attempt to use them for this purpose, pointing out that:

"The registers (*avariz* and *cizye defters*) reveal a bewildering variation both in the way that people were counted for inclusion in the registers and in the amounts they were assessed for different taxes. Such wide variation makes it a complex matter to derive generalisations about population change or the incidence of taxation from these registers. Data from any one register may or may not be valid beyond the location and date to which it refers".<sup>154</sup>

The information provided in the tables below suggest that the figures pertaining to the *avârizhânes* given in a number of registers are copied simply from the previous years. Therefore, they may be far from reflecting the actual situation.

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1/1 (1979-80), p. 20-21.

<sup>152</sup> Erder Leila & Suraiya Faroqhi, "The development of the Anadolun Urban Network during the Sixteenth Century", *JESHO*, 23 (1980): 265-303; On population issue see "Population Rise and Fall in Anadolu, 1550-1620", *Middle Eastern Studies*, 15 (1979): 322-45.

<sup>153</sup> Oktay Özel, *Changes in Settlement Patterns*, p. 35.

<sup>154</sup> Linda Darling, *The Ottoman Finance Department and the Assesment and Collection of the Cizye and Avariz taxes, 1560-1660*, (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, U.S.A, 1990), p. 177; *Revenue-Raising*, p. 100-101.

This difficulty can be overcome or, to some extent, be checked by seeing or examining the imperial orders addressing to the local *kadıs*, which contain the number of *avârizhânes* from the *liva* down to the *kaza* in the province, in the *şer'yye sicilleri* of the region under study.

It is important to determine how many *gerçekhâne* (real households) constituted one *avârizhâne*. This is the most difficult aspect of interpreting *avâriz icmal* registers for demographic purposes. The usually accepted generalisation for the empire as a whole, that one *avârizhâne* could be made up of between 3 and 15 *gerçekhâne*,<sup>155</sup> is too broad to be of much practical value. The number of *gerçekhânes* within an *avârizhâne* varied considerably from place to place and from region to region. It is clear from the archival documents consulted, that the number of *gerçekhânes* was determined by the wealth of the taxpayers within the region for which the survey was carried out.<sup>156</sup> The *avârizhâne* register MM7063 for Kayseri also shows that the final registration status of tax-payers were subject to the central government's final approval as the end-product of a process of negotiation.<sup>157</sup> For example, 550 *hânes*/11,000 *nefer* suggests a ratio of 1:20 applied for *Kayseri livası* in 1640 but when the registered taxable population rose to 13,000 *nefer* in 1642 there was an attempt to adjust, and the number of *avarizhanes* assigned to Kayseri was increased to 901.25 which would imply a 1:14.4 ratio. This differentiation in the *gerçekhanelavarizhane* ratios between

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<sup>155</sup> Barkan, "avarız", p.15.

<sup>156</sup> In this regard see MM 7063, p. 1.

<sup>157</sup> " Arz-i bende-i bimikdar budur ki, Kayseriye sancağı mukaddema 388 hâne iken bundan akdem Kayseriye kadısı olan Mevlâna Şerci daileri 13000 bin reayaya beşyüz (elli) avarizhânesi kayd iylemekle tekrar tahriri Cebeciler katibi Cafer efendi ve Kenan Ağa kullari ferman-i ali üzere tahrir iylediklerinde 13000 nefer reaya defter olunmağla ikibin nefer ziyadesi olub henüz hânesi tayin olmamışdır lakin reayasi ziyade fakir'il



1640 and 1642 demonstrate the fact that the use of *avarizhane* data for demographic research has certain limitations and therefore using a fixed multiplier chosen arbitrarily for that purposes for a *kaza liva* or a province level will mislead us to a result of large margins of errors.

It is clear from the information given in a number of *tahrir defters*<sup>158</sup> including 387 *Numaralı Muhasebe-i Vilâyet-i Karaman ve Rûm Defteri* dated 937/1530, as well as studies,<sup>159</sup> that the fifteenth and early sixteenth-century *avârizhâne* equalled one *gerçekhâne*. For example, the 937/1530 register gives the totals of all adult males in each *liva* in *Karaman eyâleti*, as well as *Rum*, for the year of 1530. The totals include all *avâriz*-paying individuals, excluding *avâriz*-exempt members of the *askeri* class (military and administrative). We must also accept that a number of people have been excluded from the total number of *avârizhânes* on the grounds that they had held certain positions and were therefore not counted for *avâriz*. In *Konya livası*, for example, 28,871 *nefers* were counted in the 937/1530 register, of which 10,085 were, because of their status as military or religious men, exempt from the payment of tax. 7,087 households were counted as *esp-keşan* (horse breeders) for the central government and were also exempt from all kind of extraordinary levies. This leaves 11,699 *gerçekhânes* recorded as *avârizhânes* for the *liva*. *Nefer*, meaning literally 'individual', probably refers

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*hal olmağla her 15 neferine bir hâne kayd olunmak rica ider bu babda emr'u ferman sultanim hazretlerininindir."* Ibid.

<sup>158</sup> Ali Açikel, *Changes in settlement patterns*. In this regard see; TT 19: 33, 48, 102, 501, 529, 538, 551, and 569 cited by Açikel.

<sup>159</sup> See Darling, *Revenue-Raising*, pp. 105-106; Mehmet Öz, "Tahrir Defterlerinin Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırmalarında Kullanılması Hakkında Bazı Düşünceler" *Vakıflar Dergisi*, XXII (1991): 429-439; Oktay Özel, 'Avâriz ve cizye Defterleri' in Sevkettin Pamuk ed. *Osmanlı'da Bilgi ve İstatistik*, Ankara: Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü Yay, forthcoming (2000/1).

mostly to heads of real households (*gerçekhânes*) as well as to single taxable adult men.

Now, if we calculate them it will support our statement above that one *gerçekhâne* was regarded as one *avârizhâne* in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

[10,085 (exempt)+ 7,087 (*esp-keşan*)+ 11,699 (*avârizhâne*) = 28,871 *nefers*.]. It also appears that in c.1530 nearly 33% of *hâne/nefer* were *avâriz*-exempt.

If we use the entries from the same register for *Kayseri livası*, we get the following figures that also support the idea that one *avârizhâne* was made up of one *gerçekhâne*. 15,867 *nefers* were counted in the 937/1530 register. 4,947 out of 15,867 were members of the military and religious personnel, and 10,920 were *avârizhânes* of the *liva*. Now, if we calculate them it will again support our statement above. 4,947 (exempt)+ 10,920 (*avârizhâne*) = 15,867 *nefers*.

Larger urban areas would have had more military exemption, due to settlement of Ottoman provincial officials, garrison etc. Also, cities such as Konya and Kayseri would have contained a significant proportion of religious figures exempt from *avâriz* taxation. Therefore exemptions ought to be higher in such cities than in smaller cities. With regard to rural areas, there is the possibility of community exemption in return for particular services.

From the information given above it is clear that one *avârizhâne* was clearly made up of one *gerçekhâne* in the 16<sup>th</sup>-century. Similarly, Bernard Lewis found the word *avârizhâne* in his documents on sixteenth-century Palestine to be equivalent to one *gerçekhâne*.<sup>160</sup> However, it is not clear from the available sources, when

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<sup>160</sup> Bernard Lewis, "Notes and Documents from the Turkish Archives: A contribution to the History of the Jews in the Ottoman Empire.", *Oriental Notes and Studies*, 3 (1953): 1-52, "Studies in the Ottoman Archives-I", *BSOAS*, 16 (1954): 469-501. On the taxation issue in Palestine see his *Population and Revenue in the towns of Palestine in the sixteenth Century*, (Princeton-New Jersey 1978).



the classical households were no longer used for *avârizhâne* tax assessment purposes and when the change occurred to *avârizhânes* counting of several *gerçekhânes*.

The *avârizhâne* registers from the turn of the sixteenth century show that *avârizhânes* were by then composed of a number of *gerçekhânes*. A record of the *avâriz* of Balıkesir in 1603, indicates the number of individuals or *gerçekhânes* in one *avârizhâne*, prescribing that three married men and six bachelors constituted one *avârizhâne*.<sup>161</sup> An entry relating to the *avâriz* of Alaiye in MM 16596 *avâriz* register shows that one *avârizhâne* was made up of three *gerçekhâne* in 1015/1606,<sup>162</sup> while Muslims settling in Kıbrıs/Cyprus in 1015/1606 were counted as five *nefers* per *avârizhâne*.<sup>163</sup> Here, *nefer* clearly does mean heads of household. For example, entries in MM 2576 *Maliye Ahkam* register, dating from 1633-1640, reveals that *avârizhâne* assessment in both Rumeli and Anadolu, was figured at an even 5 *nefers* per *avârizhâne*, except that of Dimetoka where it was placed at 7 *nefers* per *hâne* and Beyşehir at 3 *nefers* per *avârizhâne*.<sup>164</sup> Emecen, relying on the available information given in the *Kayacik kazası avâriz defteri*, dated at 1646/47, shows a total of 455 tax-paying population forming 167.5

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<sup>161</sup> Darling, *Revenue-Raising*, p. 106; "üç bennak ve altı mücerred bir hâne hesabınca-in the view of the disproportionate number of unmarried men to married, 'three married men and six bachelors.'" Cited from Akdağ, "Türkiye'nin İktisadi Vaziyeti", p.554.

<sup>162</sup> See Güçer, *Hububat meselesi*, footnote 68b, p.73.

<sup>163</sup> Barkan, "avarız", p.15.

<sup>164</sup> Darling, *Revenue-Raising*, p.107.

*avârizhânes*, which is an average of 2.7 *nefers* per *avârizhâne*,<sup>165</sup> while it was assessed as 6.25 *nefers* for Malazgirt in the years 1645 and 1646.<sup>166</sup>

Considering the changes in the number of *gerçekhânes* within one *avârizhâne* during the 16<sup>th</sup> and early 17<sup>th</sup> centuries one therefore could suggest that in various parts of the empire one *avârizhâne* was composed of at least around 3 to 5 *gerçekhâne* at the beginning of the seventeenth century, while between 1610 and 1650, the number of *gerçekhânes* in one *avârizhâne* ranged more widely, from 3 to 15.<sup>167</sup> This is, however, based only on a small sample of available material.

Although we do not know the details about how many *gerçekhânes* were counted for one *avârizhâne* in the early 17<sup>th</sup> century, for the province of Karaman as a whole, the *Konya livasi mufassal defteri*, dated 1051-52/1641-42, states specifically how many *nefers* were counted in one *avârizhâne* in various locations. From the information given it is clear that the ratio of *nefer* to *avârizhâne* is variable depending upon the economic and social developments of the region, which falls between 8 and 14.5, with an average of 11/12 *nefers*.<sup>168</sup> For example, a total of 1488 *nefers* are listed in the 1641-42 register for *Niğde kazası*. It is clearly stated in the document itself that these *nefers* form a total of 146.75 *avârizhânes*, and that in this case 10 *nefers* were to be counted per *avarızhâne*.

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<sup>165</sup> Emecen, "Kayacık kazası avarız defteri", pp. 161-163, 165-170. For how the *avârizhânes* were distributed among the tax-payers of *kaza* of Kayacık see MM 3387, p.2.

<sup>166</sup> Darling, *Revenue-Raising*, p.107.

<sup>167</sup> Mc Gowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe*, p. 106; Darling, *Revenue-Raising*, p. 106-107; Ünal, "1056/1646 Tarihli Avarız Defterine göre 17. Yüzyıl Ortalarında Harput", pp. 123-124; Using information mostly given in the *şer'iyye sicilleri* of Ankara dating from 1809 to 1836, Rifat Özdemir points out that the number of *gerçekhâne* within one *avârizhâne* in the city of Ankara varied between 9 and 61.5 according to the economic conditions and wealth of the *gerçekhânes*. See Özdemir, "avarız ve gerçek hâne sayıları.", p. 1602-3.

<sup>168</sup> See table 2.28 below.



Similarly, 1218 *nefers* are listed for Ürgüb *kazası*, forming a total of 121 *avârizhânes*. Again, the number of *nefers* per *avârizhâne* is specified as 10. The total number of *nefers* for *Develü kazası* listed as 445 which, as also stated in the text, corresponds to 49.75 *avârizhâne*, with 9 *nefers* per *avârizhâne*. The *Konya mufasssal defteri* also informs us about the number of people counted per *avârizhâne* in the *livas* of Beyşehir, Akşehir, and Aksaray.<sup>169</sup>

**Table 2.28: The number of *nefers* in one *avârizhâne* in different locations within *Karaman Eyâleti* in 1642 according to MM 3074**

The place	Number of <i>nefers</i> in one <i>avârizhâne</i>
<b>Konya</b> kazası	11
Eskiil ve Akcaşehir kazası	12
Insuyu kazası	11
Kureyş meâ Berendi	12
Belviran kazası	11
Gaferyad kazası	14.5
Larende kazası	14
Aladağ kazası	12.5
Pirluganda kazası	10.5
<b>Beyşehir</b> kazası	12
Seydişehir kazası	12
Kaşaklu kazası	10.5
Bozkır kazası	11.5
Kucu-i kebir	11
Kırili kazası	11.5
<b>Akşehir</b> kazası	13
Ishaklu kazası	9
Ilgun kazası	12
<b>Aksaray</b> kazası	11
Eyübili kazası	8
<b>Niğde</b> kazası	10
Ürgüb kazası	10
Anduğu kazası	14
Develü kazası	9
Çamardı kazası	10

<sup>169</sup> MM 3074, p. 1, 2 and 3.

When these *nefer* figures are read together with the *avârizhâne* figures in the *liva* and *kaza* tables, it should be a useful indicator of relative prosperity. It may be assumed that the sudden changes in *avârizhâne* assessments recorded for 1643 resulted directly from the *mufasssal tahrir* of 1642. This must have taken place throughout the province. As an example of how these figures could be used or what could be learnt from these figures, it is useful to take the case of Gaferyad. We noted above, about the dramatic increase in the number of *avârizhânes* in 1643. Table 16 also shows that Gaferyad had a particularly high number of *nefer*, 14.5, per *avârizhâne*. It appears, therefore, to have been (i) previously under-taxed but (ii) to be a relatively poor area. Sudden immigration may be a considerable factor. Further consideration of *nefer-avârizhâne* ratios for specific areas undertaken in the future should yield useful information for socio-economic research.

In *Kayseri livası*, however, the 1052/1642 register records that 15 *nefers* were counted as one *avârizhâne*.<sup>170</sup> Similar to our findings, Açikel, relying on the detailed *avâriz defteri* of Tokat, dated at 1643, points out that one *avârizhâne* was composed of 12 *gerçekhâne*, with a clear concentration of around 15 *gerçekhâne* in the *kaza* of Tokat and its surroundings.<sup>171</sup> Our sources do not give any information on either the number of *nefers* or *gerçekhânes* in one *avârizhâne* for the rest of the century. Thus, it is not possible for us to talk in detail about the figures for the second half of the century.

The existence of these carefully considered variations in the *nefer/avârizhâne* ratio in table 2.28 show the differentiation principle at work in the mid-17<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> Cf. MM 7063, pp. 1-2.



century. It is clear evidence of extreme flexibility in graduated allocations as well as the functioning of the *avârizhâne* system. The Konya *mufassal defter* shows that the *nefer/avârizhâne* ratio was set at *kaza* level. It will be clear from material presented in chapter 4 below that most tax-payers were organised into particular *avârizhâne* groups. However, it still remains to be determined exactly how *nefers* were allocated to a particular group. This will also be discussed below in chapter 4. Considering all the information presented above we can now make the following conclusive points.

*Avâriz icmal* registers on their own are of limited use for demographic research. Table 2.28 demonstrate that the fact that use of fixed multipliers like a 1:10, 1:12, 1:15 or any other average value chosen arbitrarily will result in large margins of error when used to calculate real population. The data from different places in the province allows us to see this very clearly.

There are a number of issues such as multiplier, exemptions, the reliability of these registers etc. that can make it difficult to exploit them in a more useful way. However, with all these difficulties/shortcomings in mind, it is still possible that a detailed study of the available registers for both parts of the empire, Anadolu and Rumeli, could yield global population and *avâriz* revenues with a clear indication of what variation occurred over time and space. Potential results of such research could identify the general trends in the taxable population over a period of time, the trends of population movements, and relative prosperity of selected areas. Although these registers, by themselves, do not prove anything in particular, because they do not show the many variables, when they are taken together with

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<sup>171</sup> See TT 772: 3-41 cited by Açikel in *Changes in settlement patterns*.

evidence from other reliable sources they either will co-operate or challenge other findings and may thus have significant influence on the general picture. In Darling's words,

"Even in western Europe before the modern period all that can be hoped for is an estimate, an order of magnitude, so a certain lack of precision is to be expected. As imprecise as the figures might be, however, they will serve us better in understanding the social and political changes of the period than the tendentious charges and dire warnings of historians and advice writers on which our current picture of seventeenth-century conditions is based."<sup>172</sup>

In actual fact, *avâriz* surveys in the Ottoman empire were not intended to be an exhaustive count of the population for purely statistical purposes. The *avâriz* survey was a count to determine the tax revenues that the treasury might expect to receive from each area or, in other words, to determine the amount of money which would be available for the central government. Since the *avâriz* surveys were carried out for financial reasons and they record the taxable population, because of this we must evaluate them with the utmost care-and only when data, from the seventeenth century *tahrir* registers, from the *avâriz* registers or *cizye* registers, *şer'iyye sicils*, *ahkam* registers or from reliable travel accounts, is also available for some comparison to be made. In any calculation of the general population, an account must also be taken of the tax-exempt individuals and groups. However, having said that, the series of *avâriz*, *cizye* and *mukâtaa* registers of the seventeenth century are as valuable as the sixteenth-century *tahrir defters*. When they are used in conjunction with each other and within their own

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<sup>172</sup> Cited in Darling, "Finance documents and Ottoman history: Some goals for the next millennium" in *The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilisation, vol. 2, Economy and Society*, Kemal Çiçek, Ercument Kuran, Nejat Göyünç and İlber Ortaylı (eds). \*Yeni Türkiye, (Ankara, 2000): 83



limits, they can be safely employed to aid studying the changes in historical geography and demography, as well as in the social structure of the Empire.<sup>173</sup>

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<sup>173</sup> Machiel Kiel, “Remarks on the Administration of the Poll Tax (cizye) in the Ottoman Balkans and Value of Poll Tax Registers (Cizye Defterleri) for Demographic Research”, *Études Balkaniques*, 26/4 (1990): 92; cf. Oktay Özel, 'Avâriz ve cizye Defterleri' in Sevket Pamuk (ed.) *Osmanlı'da Bilgi ve İstatistik*, (Ankara: Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü Yayını, Ankara, 2000). Cf. also Açikel, *Changes in settlement pattern*, p. 235.

## Chapter 3

### ***Avâriz* and *nüzul* levies in the province of Karaman: an assessment of tax burden, 1621-1700**

A central assumption in this study is that the nature and scale of Ottoman taxation was determined by two principal consideration: how far existing practice met the government's need for tax revenue, and how acceptable tax rates were to the tax-paying population. It is clear from individual cases where the government attempted to impose too high a tax rate and had subsequently to amend this in response to a tax-payers' petition, that the government was not prepared to antagonise its tax-payers.

In this chapter we will deal with the different types of *avâriz* levies in force, especially the *avâriz akçesi* (*avâriz* in cash) and *bedel-i nüzul* for *Karaman eyâleti* between 1621 and 1699; the changes in *avâriz* and *nüzul* rates, and the amount of money collected both for *avâriz akçesi* and *bedel-i nüzul* within the *livas*. With the available information taken both from the *avâriz* and *nüzul* registers and the *şer'iyye sicilleri* of Kayseri and Konya we will be able to see the stability and fluctuations in the total amount of money collected during the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In order to achieve this, a number of *avâriz-nüzul* registers and also certain Kayseri and Konya *şer'iyye sicilleri* from the period 1611 to 1700 were examined, and 7 tables have been provided. Again, as in chapter 2, data totals are presented for *Karaman eyâleti* as a whole and for each of the eight *livas*. Some comparative figures are also given for other areas within the empire. We will also discuss the significance of the *avâriz* and *nüzul* tax burden on the tax-paying population of *Karaman eyâleti* with reference to other financial demands.



In this study we use only the *akçe* for calculation of financial issues, despite the fact that the *akçe* was only one of several denominations in use. The reason for this is that *avâriz-nüzul* registers themselves continued to calculate in *akçe* throughout the century and that work on commodity prices was also in *akçe* (see the work for comparison in section 3.2).

### 3.1 *Avâriz akçesi and bedel-i nüzul*

#### 3.1.1 Cash *avâriz* rates in *Karaman Eyâleti*: 1621-1700

As discussed in chapter 1 above, there is only a small number of studies on *avâriz* in the Ottoman empire in general. These have not been systematic enough to show the development of *avâriz* and *nüzul* rates or how significant the total amount of money collected through these levies on a regular and comparative basis was, both within the empire and over a long period of time. For example, Barkan reported relatively high figures of 1000 *akçe* per *avârizhâne* in 1048/1638, 950 *akçe* in 1049/1639, and 1100 *akçe* in 1050/1640.<sup>174</sup> As Darling pointed out, Barkan did not specify his sources for the figures nor the locations where there were assessed. Darling shows that different amounts of money collected for the *avâriz* levies in general in one area, as opposed to another area, depended on types of the levy, the time and place or the central government's demands.<sup>175</sup> McGowan, for the period 1641 to 1834, and Darling, for the shorter period 1560 to 1660 both point to the variety of *avâriz* rates but neither was able to base their work on concentrated series of *avâriz* registers.<sup>176</sup> Darling, for the years between 1560 and 1660 relied mostly on secondary sources<sup>177</sup> and an *ahkâm defteri* (KK2576) which gives the *avâriz* and *bedel-i nüzul* assessments for the 1640s. The sample picture she

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<sup>174</sup> Ömer Lütfi Barkan, "avâriz", *IA*, 2 (1949): 13-19.

<sup>175</sup> Darling, *Revenue-Raising*, table 7, p.114, 115-16.

<sup>176</sup> Bruce McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe: Taxation, Trade and Struggle for Land, 1600-1800*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); "Osmanlı Avâriz-nüzul teşekkülü, 1600-1830", *VIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, (3 Volumes, Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, Ankara 1981), Vol 2: 1327-31; Darling, *Revenue-Raising*, pp.113-118.

<sup>177</sup> Barkan, "avâriz"; Mustafa Akdağ; "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun kuruluşu ve İnkişafı Devrinde Türkiyenin İktisâdi vaziyeti", *T.T.K.Belleten*, 13 (1949): 497-568; 14 (1950): 319-411; Çağatay



presents is extremely variable and includes various *avâriz*-type levies, which need to be distinguished more specifically and considered separately.

It is clear that during the sixteenth century the rate of cash *avâriz* payable by each *avârizhâne* varied between 10 and 250 *akçe* depending on the year and location in the empire. Inflation also had a considerable effect. For example, in 1516 people living in Rumeli paid between 15 and 30 *akçe* as an *avâriz*, while the tax-paying population in Anadolu paid, in the same year, between 10 and 20 *akçe*. *Balıkesir livası* paid 30 *akçe* as *avâriz (kürekci bedeli)* in 1521, 60 *akçe* in 1537 and 160 *akçe* in 1592. In 1593, Ankara paid the *avâriz (kürekci bedeli)* at 250 *akçe* per *avârizhâne*.<sup>178</sup> In 1569-70 both Haleb and Diyarbekir paid 80 *akçe* for the cash *avâriz*, while Maraş paid 50 *akçe* in 1577. In 1606 the tax-paying population in Kıbrıs<sup>179</sup> paid 300 *akçe* for the cash *avâriz*; the rate was 360 *akçe* in Manastır for the year 1621. The variation occurred more widely from the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, towards the end.

At first glance, a similar picture of wide differences appears to be the case in the first half of the seventeenth century. Darling quotes the following. The tax-paying population of Anadolu paid for the cash *avâriz* at only 100 *akçe* per *avârizhâne* in 1622. The cash *avâriz* was collected from the *avârizhânes* of Rodos and İstanköy at 325 *akçe* per *hâne* in 1050/1640-41, but at 160 *akçe* in 1053/1643-44, while people living in Yenişehir paid the cash *avâriz* at 400 *akçe* per *hâne* in 1055/1645-

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Uluçay, *18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Saruhan'da Eşkiyalık ve Halk Hareketleri*, (İstanbul, 1955); McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe*; cf. Darling, *Revenue-Raising*, p. 114-15.

<sup>178</sup> See Mustafa Akdağ, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun kuruluşu ve İnkişafı Devrinde Türkiyenin İktisâdi vaziyeti", p. 554-55.

<sup>179</sup> Barkan, "avâriz", p.15.

46. In the same year, *avârizhânes* in most of Bosnia paid the cash *avâriz* at 400 *akçe* per *hâne*. In 1653/54, the tax-paying population of Şam also paid the cash *avâriz* at 400 *akçe* per *hâne*. However, in 1066/1655-56, the cash *avâriz* for most of Rumeli was at 325 *akçe* per *hâne*, while it was 160 *akçe* for Rhodes, and 80 *akçe* for Tirhala, and in the same year, Anadolu paid the cash *avâriz* at 300 *akçe* per *hâne*. The tax-paying population in Istanbul paid 429 *akçe* per *hâne*, which was the highest rate compared to the other places within the empire.<sup>180</sup> The reason for these differing amounts remains to be examined.

In our case, the *avâriz* and *nüzul defters*, together with the available *şer'iyye sicilleri* of Kayseri and Konya enable us to give more precisely the cash *avâriz* and *bedel-i nüzul* rates and the total amounts of money that were regularly collected from the *avârizhânes* in the *livas* and their *kaza* subdivisions in *Karaman eyâleti*, during the seventeenth-century. As far as these sources are concerned, there is no significant variation at all, in the rate of cash *avâriz* from the very first to the last register used. The rate tends to be constant, and the total amount of money collected from the *avârizhânes* varies insignificantly, depending on the changes in the numbers of *avârizhânes* in the *eyâlet*. Table 3.1 shows the rate of cash *avâriz* for the *avârizhânes* in each of the eight *livas* as specified in the registers. We do not know the cash *avâriz* rate, and the amount of money collected for the year 1030/1621 because the document does not give information on the *avâriz* rate. This is the only register which does not detail the cash *avâriz* rate or the total amount collected for the year, as it merely presents the total *avârizhânes* of each *kaza/liva* in the *eyâlet*.

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<sup>180</sup> See Darling, *Revenue-Raising*, pp. 114-117. Especially table 7 and 8 on *avâriz* rates.



**Table 3.1: Cash *avâriz* rates in *Karaman eyâleti* as whole: 1621-1700**

<i>Classification</i>	<i>Register</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Avâriz rates in akçe</i>
MM	3862	1038/1628	400
KK	2587	1050/1640	400
MM	3845	1051/1641-42	400
KK	2604	1053/1643	400
MM	2808	1055/1645	400
MM	3832	1058/1648	400
MM	3835	1057-59/1649	400
MM	4950	1060/1650	400
MM	1980	1061/1651	400
MM	3844	1062/1652	400
MM	2989	1064/1654	400
KK	2623	1065/1655	400
MM	3847	1066/1656	400
MM	3850	1067/8/1658	400+50
KK	2625	1067/1657	400
MM	2998	1068/1658	400
KonyaSS <sup>181</sup>	---	1069/1659	400
MM	3810	1070/1660	400
KonyaSS <sup>182</sup>	---	1071/1661	400+50
MM	3067	1073/4-1664	400
MM	3354	1074/5-1665	400
MM	2783	1075/1665	400
MM	3836	1078/1668	400+50 <sup>186</sup>
KonyaSS <sup>183</sup>	---	1080/1669	400+50
KK	2651	1080/1670	400
KK	2653	1080/1670	400
MM	3834	1081/1671	400
MM	2790	1082/1672	400
MM	2412	1083/1673	400
KK	2659	1084/1674	400
MM	2505	1085/1675	400+50 <sup>187</sup>
KK	2665	1086/1676	400
MM	3841	1088/1678	400
MM	3809	1089/1679	400
MM	3830	1091/1681	400
MM	9480	1096/1686	400
MM	2805	1097/1687	400+50 <sup>188</sup>
MM	2800	1098/1688	400
MM	3839	1098/1688	400
MM	16085	1102/1690	400
MM	2793	1103/1691	400
MM	2471	1104/1692	400
KonyaSS <sup>184</sup>	---	1693	450+50
MM	2987	1106/1694/95	400
MM	3807	1108/1696	400
MM	3820	1111/1699	400
MM	3826	1112/1700	400
Konya SS <sup>185</sup>	45	1127/1715	400+50

<sup>181</sup> Bayram Ürekli, *Konya'nın Merkezi idâre ile ilişkileri (1650-1675)*, p. 177.<sup>182</sup> Ibid, p.181.<sup>183</sup> Ibid, p.182.

The registers show that the rate of cash *avâriz* for the *livas* in the *Karaman eyâleti* is quite stable. The tax-paying population in the entire *eyâlet* paid 400 *akçe* per *hâne* annually during the time period under study, and there is no variation in the amount of cash *avâriz* per *hâne* from 1628 to 1700. There is no variation between either *livas* or over time. It is also clear that the *avâriz akçesi* had become a regular annual levy by the late 1620s. The rate is given usually as 400 *akçe*, but also in 1628 and 1640 the equivalent figure of 5 *guruş-i tam* is noted.

This standard assesment pattern for the *livas* in *Karaman eyâleti* appears to be the same as that in other Anatolian provinces. For example, the *avâriz* rate in the province of Adana is 5 *guruş-i tam*, the equivalent of 400 *akçe*, per *hâne* for the year 1050/1640, and 400 *akçe* per *hâne* again in 1051/1641.<sup>189</sup> In 1055/1645, 1067/1657, 1068/1658, 1075/1665, 1081/1671 the tax-paying population in the provinces of Adana and Sivas paid 400 *akçe* per *hâne* for the cash *avâriz*.<sup>190</sup> As far as can be seen in other *avâriz* registers, this cash *avâriz* rate was also in force for the Arab provinces of Trablusşam and Haleb. According to registers dating between 1640 and 1671,<sup>191</sup> the tax-paying population of these provinces paid 400 *akçe* per *hâne* as cash *avâriz*. Darling's statement that in 1067/1656-57 the cash

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<sup>184</sup> Zekeriya Bülbul, *Konya'nın Merkezi Yönetim ile ilişkileri (1685-1700)*, p. 60-1.

<sup>185</sup> Zeki Dinç, *45 Numaralı Konya Şer'iyye Sicili*, p.39.

<sup>186</sup> Ürekli, *Konya'nın Merkezi idâre ile ilişkileri*, p.181.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid, p.184.

<sup>188</sup> Bülbul, *Konya'nın Merkezî Yönetim ile ilişkileri*, p. 58.

<sup>189</sup> KK2887, MM3845.

<sup>190</sup> MM2808, KK2625, MM3850, KK2627, MM2783, MM3834.

<sup>191</sup> KK2604, MM2808, MM4950, KK2627, MM3067, MM2783, KK3067.



*avâriz* rate was assessed empire-wide at 125 *akçe* per *avârizhâne*<sup>192</sup> is not supported by these figures. It would appear that rather the cash *avâriz* rate for, at least, the Anatolian and some of the Arab provinces of the empire had stabilised at 400 *akçe* per *avârizhâne* by the mid-seventeenth century, and in at least the Karaman province, from 1628. That this rate was real (and not simply a nominal standard) is confirmed by the examination of the amounts recorded in *avâriz* registers which note what had actually been collected.

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<sup>192</sup> See Darling, *Revenue-Raising*, p.117. Her figures apperantly do not take into account the register section dealing with Karaman. Cf. MM3847-1066/1656, KK3850-1067/68-1657/58 and KK2625-1067/1657.

### 3.1.2 Cash *avâriz* yield: 1621-1700

Table 3.2 below, shows the amount of money paid for the cash *avâriz* in each *liva* in the *Karaman eyâleti*. No *avâriz* registers were found for the years between 1628 and 1640. Thus, we are not able to give information on these years in question.

As explained in the previous chapter, *avârizhâne* numbers for the eleven *kazas* in *Konya livası* reflect the general fluctuation pattern for the *eyâlet* as a whole. The stability in the numbers of *avârizhâne* of the *liva* obviously has a direct relationship with the amount of cash *avâriz* money collected throughout the century. Like the number of *avârizhânes*, the greatest fluctuation in the amount of cash *avâriz* money collected apparently occurred in the years up to c.1654. This was in relation with the increase and decrease in the numbers of *avârizhânes* in *Konya livası*, with relative variations, to the end of the century. As may be seen from the table below, the cash *avâriz* collected from the *liva* of Konya in the years between 1640 and 1699 ranged between 213,100 (recorded in 1640) and 364,400 *akçe* (recorded in 1651). After 1690 these highs were not consistently sustained and, in line with Ottoman fiscal policy in the period, they gradually subsided. By the end of the period (1699) they had subsided to 287,900.



**Table 3.2: Cash *avâriz* collected within the *livas* in *Karaman eyâleti*: 1621-1700**

Date	Rate	Konya	Niğde	Beyşehir	Akşehir	Kayseri
1030 /1621	----	----	----	-----	----	----
1050/1640	400	213,100	178,300	150,500	121,400	155,100
1051/1641	400	213,120	167,400	163,400	107,800	220,000
1053/1643	400	306,100	176,100	173,400	132,700	360,500
1055/1645	400	350,800	190,700	199,600	152,000	361,700
1058/1648	400	328,100	210,500	197,900	144,200	360,700
1057-59/1649	400	318,600	205,500	197,100	144,400	205,400
1060/1650	400	262,700	167,400	173,500	141,300	248,060
1061/1651	400	364,400	186,100	197,100	157,400	203,200/203400
1061/1651	400	363,400	186,100	197,100	157,400	202,400
1062/1652	400	364,200	186,100	197,100	157,400	199,900
1064/1654	400	359,250	185,800	197,050	157,400	205,600
1065/1655	400	329,500	180,400	197,100	154,200	205,600
1066/1656	400	329,500	179,600	197,100	154,200	204,000
1067/1657	400	328,500	179,200	194,400	154,500	201,900
1067/8/1658 <sup>193</sup>	400	328,500	176,000	194,400	154,500	202,500
1068/1658 <sup>194</sup>	400	328,400	176,000	194,400	154,500	202,550
1070/1660	400	328,500	173,400	194,400	154,500	203,900
1073/4-1664	400	328,600	161,300	194,000	154,200	204,500
1075/1665	400	328,600	162,100	194,000	154,200	204,500
1078/1668	400	328,600	161,800	194,000	154,200	205,100
1080/1670 <sup>195</sup>	400	328,600	161,800	194,000	154,500	205,300
1080/1670 <sup>196</sup>	400	328,600	161,800	194,000	154,500	203,300
1081/1671 <sup>197</sup>	400	328,600	161,800	194,000	154,200	204,500
1082/1672	400	328,200	161,800	194,000	154,500	205,300
1083/1673	400	328,200	161,300	194,000	154,500	204,200
1084/1674	400	328,200	161,300	194,000	154,500	204,200
1085/1675	400	328,200	161,300	194,000	154,500	204,200
1086/1676	400	328,200	161,300	194,000	154,500	204,200
1088/1678	400	328,200	164,100	194,000	153,700	185,500
1089/1679	400	328,200	164,100	194,000	153,700	185,500
1090/1680	400	328,200	164,100	194,000	153,700	185,500
1091/1681	400	328,200	164,100	194,000	153,700	185,500
1096/1686	400	324,100	164,100	193,000	149,700	195,800
1097/1687	400	324,300	163,300	193,000	149,700	199,750
1098/1688	400	324,300	163,300	193,000	149,700	199,750
1102/1690	400	323,700	160,900	193,000	134,400	195,950
1103/1691	400	320,600	154,100	190,600	122,500[122,700]	195,975
1104/1692	400	317,300	154,100	189,300	122,400	191,975
1106/1694	400	317,300	154,100	189,100	122,400	184,700
1108/1696	400	290,400	153,000	188,700	68,700	180,725
1111/1699	400	287,900	151,800	187,300	68,700	178,950

<sup>193</sup> MM3850.

<sup>194</sup> KK2627.

<sup>195</sup> KK2653.

<sup>196</sup> KK2651.

<sup>197</sup> MM3834.

Date	Rate	Aksaray	Kırşehir	Içil	Total in the province in <i>akçe</i>
1030/1621	----	----	----	----	-----
1050/1640	400	56,600	72,700	80,800	1,028,500
1051/1641	400	39,800	72,700	80,520	1,064,740
1053/1643	400	50,100	73,100	80,500	1,307,500
1055/1645	400	67,000	73,100	80,500	1,475,400
1058/1648	400	67,000	73,100	80,500	1,462,000
1057-59/1649	400	103,600	73,100	80,500	1,328,200
1060/1650	400	39,700	72,700	80,500	1,185,860
1061/1651 <sup>198</sup>	400	103,800	73,100	80,500	1,365,600
1061/1651 <sup>199</sup>	400	103,800	73,100	80,500	1,363,800
1062/1652	400	104,000	73,100	80,500	1,362,300
1064/1654	400	103,800	73,100	80,500	1,362,500
1065/1655	400	103,800	73,100	80,500	1,324,200
1066/1656	400	103,800	73,100	80,500	1,321,800
1067/1657	400	100,000	73,000	80,500	1,312,000
1067/8/1658	400	103,900	73,000	80,500	1,313,300
1068/1658	400	103,900	73,000	80,500	1,313,300
1070/1660	400	101,200	73,000	80,500	1,309,400
1073/4-1664	400	101,200	73,600	80,500	1,297,900
1075/1665	400	101,200	73,600	80,500	1,298,700
1078/1668	400	101,200	74,000	80,500	1,299,400
1080/1670 <sup>200</sup>	400	101,200	74,000	80,500	1,299,900
1080/1670 <sup>201</sup>	400	101,200	74,000	80,500	1,299,900
1081/1671 <sup>202</sup>	400	101,200	73,600	80,500	1,298,400
1082/1672	400	101,200	74,000	80,500	1,299,500
1083/1673	400	101,200	74,000	80,500	1,297,900
1084/1674	400	101,200	74,000	80,500	1,297,900
1085/1675	400	101,200	74,000	80,500	1,297,900
1086/1676	400	101,200	74,000	80,500	1,297,900
1088/1678	400	101,200	74,000	80,500	1,281,200
1089/1679	400	101,200	74,000	80,500	1,281,200
1090/1680	400	101,200	74,000	80,500	1,281,200
1091/1681	400	101,200	74,000	80,500	1,281,200
1096/1686	400	92,000	74,000	80,500	1,273,200
1097/1687	400	92,000	74,000	80,500	1,276,550
1098/1688	400	92,000	74,000	80,500	1,276,550
1102/1690	400	92,000	63,900	80,400	1,244,250 [1,048,400] <sup>203</sup>
1103/1691	400	92,000	57,550	80,500	1,213,825
1104/1692	400	92,000	57,550	80,500	1,205,125
1106/1694	400	92,000	57,550	80,500	1,197,650
1108/1696	400	90,800	57,550	80,500	1,110,375
1111/1699	400	89,300	57,950	80,500	1,102,400

<sup>198</sup> MM2787.<sup>199</sup> MM1980.<sup>200</sup> KK2653.<sup>201</sup> KK2651.<sup>202</sup> MM3834.<sup>203</sup> MM16085, p. 2.



It is clear from the archival documents consulted that the cash *avâriz* also display a static assesment pattern for the *Niğde livası*. The decrease in the number of *avârizhânes* in the *liva* during the 17<sup>th</sup> century affected the amount of collected cash *avâriz*. The total cash *avâriz* collected from the *liva* of Niğde in the years between 1640 and 1650 ranged between 167,400 (recorded in 1641) and 210,500 *akçe* the highest point (recorded in 1648), and from 1651 to 1699 these highs gradually subsided from a starting point of 186,100 *akçe* (recorded in 1651) to 151,800 *akçe* (recorded in 1699). The total cash *avâriz* collected in the *Beyşehir livası* ranged between 150,500 (recorded in 1640) and 199,600 (recorded in 1645) from 1640 to 1650. From 1651 to 1699 the total cash for the *liva* ranged between 197,100 (recorded in 1651) and 187,300 *akçe* (recorded in 1699). As seen from table 3.2 below there was a gradual decrease in the total amount of money collected in the *Beyşehir livası* from a highest point of 199,600 *akçe* (recorded in 1645) to 187,300 *akçe* (recorded in 1699).

The cash *avâriz* collected from the *Akşehir livası*, and its subdivision of four *kazas* in the years between 1640 and 1650 ranged between 107,800 (recorded in 1641) and 152,000 *akçe* (recorded in 1645). The variation in the amount of money for the cash *avâriz* is seen in relation with the increase and decrease in the numbers of *avârizhânes* in the *liva*. After the 1650s, there is no increase in the number of *avârizhânes*, and in the collected money, but rather a decrease in many years to come. By the end of the period (1699) the total amaount of cash *avariz* had subsided to 68,700 *akçe*. Similarly, the cash *avâriz* collected in the *Aksaray livası* from 1640 to 1699 ranged between 39,800 (recorded in 1641) and 104,000 *akçe* (recorded in 1652). After 1652 they gradually subsided. By the end of the period

(1699) they had subsided to 89,300 *akçe*. The cash *avâriz* collected from *Kırşehir livası* ranged between 72,700 (recorded in 1640) and 57,550 *akçe* (recorded in 1696) from 1640 to 1699, while the cash *avâriz* collected in the *Kayseri livası* ranged between 155,100 (recorded in 1640) and 360,500 *akçe* (recorded in 1643) from 1640 to 1699. By the end of the century they subsided to 178,950 *akçe*.

As shown in chapter 2 above, *Içil livası* appears exceptional among the *livas* in the *eyâlet*. The *avârizhânes* of *Içil livası*, including the eleven *kazas*, do not reflect the general fluctuation pattern seen in the province as whole. The variation in the amount of cash *avâriz* was therefore very small between 80,500 and 80,400 *akçe*.



### 3.2 *Bedel-i nüzü* rates and yield

#### 3.2.1 *Bedel-i nü* rates

Another *avâriz* levy being dealt with in this study is *bedel-i nü* and its rate within the *livas* in *Karaman eyâleti* for the years between 1621 and 1700. *Nü* originated a levy of provisions such as barley and flour to the Ottoman army during the campaign period. By the seventeenth century it was predominantly a cash tax. The sources used here do not tell us whether any amount of *nü* was also or, alternatively, collected in kind; they simply state *bedel-i nü* (campaign provisions tax *in cash*).

No *bedel-i nü* register has been found for the year 1621 and therefore we are not able to give either the *bedel-i nü* rate or the amount of money collected in that year. There is almost a 20-year gap between the first two registers found for this study - 1626 and 1628 - and a more regular series beginning in 1645. Therefore, in order to present a more consistent set of data, we tried to find out the *bedel-i nü* rate by consulting other relevant sources. For example, the Kayseri and Konya *şer'iyye sicilleri* contain a number of imperial decrees addressed to the local *kadis* in relation to *avâriz* and *nü* levies within *livas* in *Karaman eyâleti*. A number of these have provided *bedel-i nü* rates for certain years within which no information is available in the *avârizhâne* registers.

Evidence for rates elsewhere is again variable for the late sixteenth/early seventeenth century. In 1594, the *kaza* of Rodoscuk paid 300 *akçe* per *avârizhâne* as *bedel-i nü*.<sup>204</sup> In 1598-9, the *bedel-i nü* was collected for the year at

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<sup>204</sup> Finkel, *The Administration of Warfare*, p. 143.

Güzelhisar in Rumeli, at 600 *akçe*.<sup>205</sup> In 1015/1606, *bedel-i nüzul* was collected at 300 *akçe* in Kıbrıs.<sup>206</sup> In 1038/1628-29 and 1039/1629-30, the tax-paying population in *Paşa livası*, in Rumeli, paid the *bedel-i nüzul* at 5 *kamil guruş*, or its equivalent, of 400 *akçe*. In 1042/1632-33, the *bedel-i nüzul* was apparently assessed at 20 *kamil guruş* or 1560 *akçe* in *Aksaray livası* and 14 *kamil guruş* or 1092 *akçe* in Haleb. This, however, was higher than the tax-paying population could bear and amounts were reduced by 25% on petition of the inhabitants.<sup>207</sup> The *bedel-i nüzul* amounts in subsequent years show very little evidence of any major change. In 1634, for example, *bedel-i nüzul* was collected at 300 *akçe* per *avârizhâne* in Manastır, according to an imperial order registered in the *şer'iyye sicili*.<sup>208</sup> In 1636, the government apparently proposed a standard rate throughout the empire of 12 *guruş* per *avârizhâne* which, at 80 *akçe* per *guruş*, would yield 960 *akçe* per *hâne*. This was seen very soon to be too high and a second order was issued setting the general rate at 5 *guruş* per *hâne*, which would yield an acceptable 400 *akçe* per *avârizhâne*.<sup>209</sup> In 1056/1646-7, all the tax-paying population in Rumeli paid *bedel-i nüzul* at 400 *akçe* per *hâne*.<sup>210</sup> Nevertheless, this rate was apparently not automatically set the same elsewhere. Uluçay points out that in 1061/1650 the *bedel-i nüzul* in *Saruhan eyâleti* was paid at 300 *akçe*

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<sup>205</sup> McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe*, p. 110.

<sup>206</sup> Barkan, "avâriz", p.15.

<sup>207</sup> Darling, *Revenue-Raising*, p.116.

<sup>208</sup> McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe*, p. 205.[MSS 3:98-1, MSS 4: 236-1]

<sup>209</sup> McGowan, *Economic Life in Ottoman Europe*, p.110.

<sup>210</sup> Barkan, "avâriz", p. 15. Darling, *Revenue- Raising*, p.116.



plus 20 *akçe* for the *mübaşiriye* (collector's fee) per *avârizhâne*.<sup>211</sup> In 1041/1631 Koçi Bey cited the normal level of *avâriz*, which he called the *kanun* (regulation), as 300 *akçe*.<sup>212</sup> However, the *bedel-i nüzul* varied between 300 and 600 *akçe*.

The situation in *Karaman eyâleti* was as follows.<sup>213</sup> In 1036/1626, the *bedel-i nüzul* was paid at 600 *akçe*.<sup>214</sup> The MM3862 register gives *bedel-i nüzul* for the year 1038/1628 in *Karaman eyâleti* as 600 *akçe* with one exception that the tax-paying population in *Içil livası* paid the *bedel-i nüzul* for the same year at 410 *akçe* per *hâne*. Another imperial decree, dated as 1055/1645, found in *Konya şer'iyye sicilleri*, ordered the collection of *bedel-i nüzul* in *Karaman eyâleti* at 5 *kamil guruş*, equivalent of 400 *akçe*, plus 10 *akçe* for the *mübaşiriye* per *avârizhâne*.

"... umumen memâlik-i mahrusemde vaki kadılıkların avârizhânelerinden her bir hânesinden beş kamil kuruş bedel-i nüzul cemi ve tahsil olunmak babından hatt-i hümayun-u saadet makrunumla fermân-i âlişân sadır olmağın ... herbir hânelerinden tahsil-i fermânım olan beş kâmil kuruş bedel-i nüzul akçelerin âsitâne-i saadetimde irsâl olunan mühürlü ve nişanlı mevkufat defteri mucebince mübaşir-i mumaileyhe müeccilen

<sup>211</sup> Çağatay Uluçay, *18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Saruhan'da Eşkiyalık ve Halk Hareketleri*, p.51.

<sup>212</sup> *Koçi Bey Risalesi*, Ali Kemali Akşit ed., (Istanbul, 1939), p. 105. Koçi Bey also notes that by 990/1582 forty *akçe* were collected from each *avârizhâne* by the Ottoman central government. See Koçi Bey, p. 47; Cf. Darling, *Revenue-Raising*, p. 115; Rifa'at 'Ali Abou-El-Haj, *Formation of the Modern State. The Ottoman Empire Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, (State University of New York Press, 1991), p. 83.

<sup>213</sup> For a summary of these variations, see p. 167 (table 3.3).

<sup>214</sup> Ahmet Gündüz; *27 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili 1035/36-1625/26, Metin Transkripsiyonu*, (Unpublished MA Thesis, Kayseri, 1995), p. 811-12: "Emr-i şerif-i bedel-i nüzul .... Niğde sancağında vaki' olan kadılar zidefezalihum tevki'i ref'i hümayun vasıl olıcak m'alum ola ki zikr olunan kadılıklarda vaki' avârizhânesinin bin otuz altı senesi için her bir hânedan bedel-i nüzul altışar yüz akçeyi irsal olunan nişanlı ve mühürlü defter mucebince .... bu babda sadır olan emrim üzerine 'amel idüb dahi zikr olunan kadılıklarda vaki' avârizhânesinin tarih-i mezkur için her bir hânedan bedel-i nüzul altışar yüz akçeyi irsal olunan nişanlı ve beratlu ve mühürlü mevkufat defteri mucebince mezbur kuluma cem' ve tahsil ve kabz ve defter itdürüb bir ferde ta'allül itdirmeyesin .... hilaf-i emr-i şerif re'ayaya te'addi ve tecavüzdan ve diğer defterden ve fermanımdan ziyade akçe aldırmağdan ziyade ihzar idüb vech-i meşruh üzere olan emrimi yerine getiresin şöyle bilesin 'alamet-i şerife 'itimad kılasın ... kayd fi 9 şehr-i cemaziye'l-evvel sene 1036(1626)." Cited in ibid.

cem' ve tahsil itdürüp ... Bundan maada her bir hânelerinden onar akçe cihet-i maişet tayin olunmuştur."<sup>215</sup>

We can therefore say that in 1645, a total of 410 *akçe* was also collected in the province as a whole. Three years later the tax-paying population within the *livas* in *Karaman eyâleti* paid the *bedel-i nüzul* at 400 *akçe* per *hâne*.<sup>216</sup>

It appears that for the same year 1058/1648, a total of 400 *akçe* was also collected from the *avârizhânes* in the provinces of Trablusşam, Haleb, Maraş Diyarbekr, Erzurum, Trabzon, Sivas etc. and the *livas* of Malatya, Karahisar-i şarkı.<sup>217</sup>

However, for the same year, the tax-paying population in the frontier provinces of Budin, Bosna, Timaşvar and Eğri paid 100 *akçe* per *hâne*, according to this register.<sup>218</sup> An imperial order dated 1066/1657 in the *Kayseri şer'iyye sicilleri*

gives the *bedel-i nüzul* rate for the entire *Karaman eyâleti* as a total of 325 *akçe*, 300 *akçe* plus 25 *akçe mübaşiriye* for the year 1656/57.<sup>219</sup> From another imperial

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<sup>215</sup> Ahmet Ali Öter, *1645 Tarihinde Konya'ya Gönderilen Fermanlar*, (Unpublished BA Dissertation, Selçuk University, Konya, 1986), pp. 16-18: "... *Karaman Eyâletinde vaki' olan kadılar zide fezailihüm. Tevki'i ref'i hümayun vasil olicak malum olaki: .... memâlik-i mahrusemde vaki kadılıkların avârizhânelerinden her bir hânesinden beş kamil kuruş bedel-i nüzul cemi ve tahsil olunmak babından hatt-i hümayun-u saadet makrunumla fermân-i âlişân sadır olmağın imdi Eyâlet-i mezburede olan kadılıklarda vaki avârizhânelerin her bir hânesinden beş kamil kuruş bedel-i nüzulleri irsal olunan mühürlü ve nişanlı mevkufat defteri mucebince cem ve tahsil ve dahil-i hazine itdirilmek fermanım olmuştur. Buyurdum ki hükm-ü şerifimle Karaman hâzinesi defterdârı olan ... Murat dâme ulumuhu vardıkda bu bâbda sâdır olan hatt-i hümayun-u saadet makrunum mucibince amel idüp dahi katan tehlil ve tevekkuf eylemeyip taht-i kazalarda vaki avârizhânelerinin herbir hânelerinden tahsil-i fermânım olan beş kâmil kuruş bedel-i nüzul akçelerin âsitâne-i saadetimde irsâl olunan mühürlü ve nişanlı mevkufat defteri mucebince mübaşir-i mumailiye müeccilen cem' ve tahsil itdürüp ... Bundan maada her bir hânelerinden onar akçe cihet-i maişet tayin olunmuştur. Bundan ziyade bir akçe ve bir habbe olduğuna katan riza-i hümayunum yoktur. .... şöyle bilesin. Âlamet-i şerife itimat kılasın. Tahriren fi yevmül-hadi-i aşer sehr-i şevval sene hams ve hamsin ve elf. Azâm-i Kostantiniyye el mahruse."* Cited in *ibid*.

<sup>216</sup> MM3838, pp.38-40.

<sup>217</sup> MM3838, pp.41-46.

<sup>218</sup> MM3838, p.46.

<sup>219</sup> Mehmet Ali Kalipçioğlu, *65 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili 1067/68-1656/58, Metin Transkripsiyonu*, (Unpublished MA Thesis, Erciyes University, Kayseri, 1996), p.297-298. [65:91-234]. " *Karaman Eyâletinde vaki' olan kadılar zide fezailihüm. Tevki'i ref'i hümayun vasil olicak*



order in the *sicils* we know that in the following year *bedel-i nüzul* was paid again at 300 *akçe* plus an additional 20 *akçe* for the *mübaşiriye* in *Karaman eyâleti* in the year 1067/1657.<sup>220</sup> In 1068/1658, the *bedel-i nüzul* was paid again as 300 *akçe* in *Karaman eyâleti*. It is also mentioned in the register that the tax-paying population in other areas, i.e. the provinces of Adana, Erzurum, Trabzon and Haleb, paid 300 *akçe* as *bedel-i nüzü*l for the same year.<sup>221</sup> There is no mention of the additional 20 *akçe* paid as *mübaşiriye*, as it was the case in previous years. This does not mean that in years without mention of it, *mübaşiriye* charges were not levied. All collectors obviously needed to meet their expenses every year. This is clearly due to the shortcomings of the *avâriz* and *nüzul* registers that do not give us such details.

Some, but not all, registers specify the additional sum to be paid as *mübaşiriye*. There are probably two main reasons why this amount is only mentioned occasionally. First, is the need to ensure that both the *mübaşir* (collector) and local

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*malum olaki: ....bin altmış yedi senesine mahsub olmak üzere bedel-i nüzulleri tahsile ... Gümrük emini Hasan zide mecdühuya deruhde olunub eline mühürlü ve nişanlı mevkufat defteri suret-i mucibince verilmeğin mucibince zamanı hulul eyledükde cem ve tahsil ittirilmek emir idüp buyurdum ki, hükm-ü şerifimle vardıkta bu babda sadır olan emrim üzerine amel idüp dahi Eyâlet-i mezbure vaki olmuğdar avârizhânelerin tarih-i mezbure mahsub olmak üzere herbir hânelerinden üçyüz akçe bedel-i nüzullerin zaman-i hülûl eyledikde eline verilen mühürlü ve nişanlı mevkufat defteri mucibince cem' ve tahsil itdüresin ve bundan maada mübaşirin cihet-i maişeti için her bir hânesinden yirmibeş akçe vech-i ma'aş aldırub bundan ziyade katibiye ve tarafîye ve hademiye ve mahkeme harcı .... vesair bahâne ile bir akçe ve bir hibelerin almaya ve aldirmayasın ... ve fermanndan ziyade akçe alınmağla hilaf-i şer' ve kanuna teaddi ve tecavüzden ziyade ihtiraz eylesin şöyle bilesin Âlamet-i şerife itimat kılasın. Tahriren fi yevmü'l-sadıs seher-i Zilka'de lisene sit ve sittin ve elf. Be makam-ı Kostantiniyye el mahruse vird fi 12 zilkade sene 1066."*  
Cited in ibid.

<sup>220</sup> KSS66, p.130 entry 343. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Özen Tok of Erciyes University in Kayseri for providing me with this information and his kind permission to see and use his paper prior to publication; Özen Tok, "Kayseri kadı sicillerindeki avâriz ve avârizhâneler ile ilgili belgeler üzerinde bazı değerlendirmeler (1065/1070-1655/1660).", in *Onbirinci Kayseri Kültür ve Sanat Haftası III. Kayseri ve Yöresi Tarih Sempozyumu*, Kayseri, 06-07 Nisan 2000. For the transliteration of the text from the Ottoman Turkish into the Latin alphabet, see Rıdvan Yurtlak, *66/1 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili (1067/1657), Transkripsiyon ve Değerlendirmesi*, (Unpublished MA Thesis, Erciyes University, Kayseri 1995).

<sup>221</sup> MM2998.

*kadı* were clear about the level of the fee, and to prevent any extortion on the part of the collector. Second was probably to record official changes in the fee level made by the central government.

Another imperial order regarding the *bedel-i nüzul* collection in *Kayseri livası* dated 1069/1659, gives the *bedel-i nüzul* rate for the year 1070/1660 as 600 *akçe* per *hâne* for the *Kayseri kazası* itself and plus 30 *akçe* for the *mübaşiriye*.<sup>222</sup> Now we know from the existing information that in 1070/1660 the tax-paying population in *Kayseri livası* itself paid the cash *avâriz* at a flat rate of 400 *akçe* per *hâne*. It is quite likely that the *bedel-i nüzul* of 600 *akçe* per *hâne* in Kayseri did cause some complaints since some of the tax-paying population had also been asked for a third levy i.e. *sürsat*. On receiving these complaints another imperial order was therefore issued regarding the *bedel-i nüzul* collection and sent out by the central government to the *kadı* of Kayseri, ordering that the tax-paying population who had been asked to pay *sürsat* and had already paid or were about to pay the *bedel-i nüzul*, should pay 150 *akçe* less than those who were asked for *bedel-i nüzul* only and not *sürsat*. It is clearly stated that if the *bedel-i nüzul* was collected at the rate of 600 *akçe*, then 150 *akçe* must be given back to the complainants in accordance with the imperial order. This deduction was not implemented for all tax-payers but only those who paid *bedel-i nüzul* and had been asked to pay, the *sürsat* in addition.<sup>223</sup>

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<sup>222</sup> Naile Demir, *70/12 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili Metin Transkripsiyonu (1069/1658)*, (Unpublished BA Dissertation, Erciyes University, Kayseri 1999), pp.24-25, 27-28. [70:180-405, 70:181-408].

<sup>223</sup> "... Kayseriye sancağında vaki' olan kadılar zide fazlühüm ... ve tevki'i ref'i humâyun vasıl alacak malum olaki bundan akdem sefer-i humâyunun mühimmatı için memalik-i mahrusemde vaki avârizhânelerinin her bir hânesinin 1070 senesine mahsub olmak üzere altışar yüz akçe bedel-i nüzullerin tahsil ve teslim-i hâzine-i âmire ettirmek üzere emr-i şerifim irsâl olunmuş idi. Halen bi-vezaif-i hidemâtullahi teâla Celâli eşkiyası taama şimşir olmağla reaya fukarasına



Apparently, however, most of the tax-paying population did pay the sum originally set as 600 *akçe* and which corresponds to a 100% increase in *bedel-i nüzul* assessment over 1658. Our findings suggest that the *bedel-i nüzul* rate for the same year was the same in other areas in the *eyâlet* as in *Kayseri kazası*.

This dramatic increase in the *bedel-i nüzul* rate was due to the *Celâli* terror around the region which forced the Ottoman administration to act and eliminate such unrest for good. To eliminate these people from their unlawful activities and re-establish stability and security in Anadolu such an amount of cash was needed in order to meet the central government's cavalry regiments' expenses.<sup>224</sup>

Here we see the Ottoman government applying such increases in the amounts of taxes in force, whenever they had financial difficulties or budgetary deficits.

Another clear example of this occurred in 1070/1659 when the central government could not pay the Janissaries' regular salary which they used to receive on a three-

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*terakki bu sene sürsat zahiresi ihraç fermânım olmuştur. Buyurdum ki hükm-i şerifimle vardıkda bu babda sâdır olan emrim üzere amel edüb dahi te'hir ve tevakkuf eylemeyip .... tarih-i mezbura mahsub olmak üzere her bir avârizhânelerinden tahsil-i fermânım olan altışar yüz akçe bedel-i nüzüllerinden bu sene sürsat zahire ihracı fermânım olan mahallelerden yüzellişer akçe tenzil olunup her bir hânelerinden dörderyüzellişer akçe olmak üzere bedel-i nüzülleride mukaddema irsal olunan mübaşir elinde olan mevkufat defterine noksan kılmak üzere miri için muaccelen tahsili ve dâhili hâzine ettirüb ziyade talebi ile reâya fukarası rencide ve remide ettirmeyesiz. ... siz ki kadıarsız ve sen ki tarih-i mezburu bedel-i nüzul mübâşirisin. Zikr olunan bedel-i nüzul malından altışaryüz akçe üzere reayâdan cem' olmuş pâye tenzili fermânım olan yüzellişer akçesin geri ashâbına müslümanlar müvacehesindedir eyleyip ve red olunduğundan aynı ile hüccet ettirup alip hifz eylesesiz .... bilmiş olasız şöyle bilesin âlâmet-i şerife I'timât kılasız. ... sene 1069." Cited in ibid. p. 27-28. For the original text see KSS 70:181-408.*

<sup>224</sup> "... Anadolu cânibinde zuhur eyleyen Celâli eşkiyasının memâlik-i mahrusâmde defü refi için fermân-i humâyûnum mukarrer ve muhakkak olmağla umum üzere sefer-i zafer şîârıma me'mur olan altı bölük halkı ve dergâh-i muallam yeniçerileri vesair kapımkullarımın zât ve zevâdeleri için küllü hâzine tedariki lazım ve mühim olmağla memâlik-i mahrusamda vaki avârizhânelerinden ... 1070 senesi için altışar yüz akçe bedel-i nüzüllerinden irsâl olunan mühürlü ve nişanlı mevkufat defteri süreti mucibince işbu emr-i şerifim vardıgı gibi muaccelen tahsil ve dehil-i hâzine ettirmekte her biriniz ziyâde ikdâm-i tam vech ile teallül ve niza eylemeyesüz ve bundan maada mübaşir-i mezburun cihet-i maişet için her bir hânesinden otuzar akçe dahi aldirup bundan ziyâde bir akçe ve bir habbe aldirmayasuz ve..." cited in Naile Demir, 70/12 Numaralı Kayseri Ser'iyye Sicili Metin Transkripsiyonu (1069/1658). For the cost of warfare to the central government as well as to the tax-paying subjects of the Empire in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries see Caroline Finkel, *The Administration of Warfare*; Rhoads Murphy, *Ottoman Warfare: 1500-1700*, (UCL Press,



month basis. It appears from another imperial order addressing the *kadıs* in *Karaman eyâleti*, that the central government was seeking immediate cash in order to be able to meet the *reşen*<sup>225</sup> payments for the central army in Istanbul.<sup>226</sup>

A number of *avârizhâne* registers used in this study list the *bedel-i nüzul* as 600 *akçe* between 1664 and 1671 with no information on *mübaşiriye*. Information on the latter can be found in the *şer'iyye sicils* of Kayseri and Konya. An imperial order of 1085/1675 specifically states that an additional 30 *akçe* per *hâne* was to be paid to the *mübaşir* to meet his expenses.<sup>227</sup>

The tax-paying population in the provinces of Sivas and Erzurum paid the *bedel-i nüzul* at 600 *akçe* per *hâne* which is the same as *Karaman eyâleti* in the year

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London, 1999). Especially Chapter 3: Military manpower and military spending, pp.35-64. Chapter 5: Provisioning the army, pp. 85-103.

<sup>225</sup> This abbreviation refers to the quarterly payment of the standing army for the months of *Receb*, *Şaban* and *Ramazan*, in the Islamic calender.

<sup>226</sup> "... *Karamanda vaki' olan kadılar zide fazlühüm ve ... 1070 senesi bedel-i nüzul cem'ine me'mur olan zide kadruhum tevki-i refi hümayun vasıl olacak malum olaki inşallahuteala hâliya kapımkullarina verilecek reşen mevacibi için külli hâzine lâzım ve tedariki emr-i mühim olmağla emr-i şerifime tahsil-i fermânım olan bedel-i nüzul malından mevacib-i merkume için ta'cil ale't-ta'cil onbeş kese akçe tahsil ve der kise olunup mevacib verilmesinden mukaddem âsitâne-i saâdetime irsâl ve teslim-i hâzine ettirmek babında fermân-i alişânım olmuştur. Buyurdum ki hükm-i şerifimle ikdâm ve ihtimamda dakika fevt ihmâl ve müsâhaleden be-gayet ihtirâz üzere olası ....*", cited in Naile Demir, *70/12 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili Metin Transkripsiyonu* (1069/1658), p.26-27.

<sup>227</sup> Ali Özçelik, "1079/1668-69,1085/1674-75 Yılları Arasında olağanüstü Vergilerle ilgili olarak Konya'ya Gönderilen Bazı Hükümler." *Paper presented to institute of social science at Selçuk University in Konya* (1991), p.16-17: "*Defter-i hâneha-i bedel-i nüzul kaza-i mezkurin der liva-i Konya Zilkade sene 1085 ber-muceb-i defter-i hâzine-i âmire nefs-i Konya hâne: 383 ve 1 rub'. .... Konya ve Aksehir ve Kırşehir ve Niğde ve Aksaray ve Içil ve Beyşehir sancaklarında vaki olan kadılar zide fazlühüm tevki-i refi'i hümayun vasıl olucak malum ola ki hâzine-i âmiremde mahfuz olan mevkufat defterleri Konya sancağının ... ceman zikr olunan sancakların üçbin ikiyüz kırk dört buçuk ve rubu nüzul hâneleri olub 1085 senesine mahsub olmak üzere üzerlerine edası lâzım gelen bedel-i nüzulleri cem' ve tahsil olmak lâzım ve mühim olmağın .... buyurdum ki hükm-i şerifim vardukta bu babda sadır olan emrim üzereamel idüb .... zikr olunan sancaklarda vâki ol miktar ve nüzul hânelerinin her bir hânelerinden altışaryüz akçe bedel-i nüzullerin mübaşir-i mezburun eline verilen mühürlü ve nişanlı mevkufat defteri sureti mucébince vaktu zamanıyla cem ve tahsil iddirilüb .... ve bundan maada mübaşir-i mezburun cihet-i maişet için her bir hânelerinden otuzar akçe aldirub zinhar bundan ziyade bir akçe ve bir habbe alınmıya ve aldırmiyasız .... fî 16 Ramazan sene 1085.*" [Konya şer'iyye sicili no.17] Cited in ibid.



1074/75-1664.<sup>228</sup> In some other areas of the empire, the *livas* of Amasya, Çorum, Bozok, Canik, Arapgir and Karahisar-i şarki paid *bedel-i nüzul* at 600 *akçe* per *hâne* in 1664.<sup>229</sup> In 1086/1676, 1088/1678 and 1089/1679, again the *bedel-i nüzul* was paid at 600 *akçe* in the *eyâlet*.<sup>230</sup> An imperial order in the *Konya şer'iyye sicils* dated 1089/1679 particularly addressing the *bedel-i nüzul* collection in *Karaman eyâleti* specifies an additional 30 *akçe* in the name of *mübaşiriye*.<sup>231</sup> It was again collected at 600 *akçe* in *Karaman eyâleti* for the years of 1091/1681, 1097/1687 and 1098/1688.<sup>232</sup> No *avârizhâne* register was found for the years 1099/1689 and 1100/1690. We have the *bedel-i nüzul* for the years in question from an imperial order in *96 Nolu Kayseri şer'iyye sicili* sent out by the central government in relation to the collection of *bedel-i nüzul* in the *eyâlet*. According to this imperial order the tax-paying population in the entire *Karaman eyâleti* paid the *bedel-i nüzul* at 600 *akçe* plus 30 *akçe* for the *mübaşiriye*.<sup>233</sup> There is no change in the amount of money collected from the *avârizhânes* of the *eyâlet* till the turn of the century.<sup>234</sup> It appears from the archival document that in 1111/1699, the *bedel-i nüzul* was also collected at 600 *akçe* per *hâne* in the

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<sup>228</sup> MM3354.

<sup>229</sup> MM3354 .

<sup>230</sup> KK2665, MM3841. MM3809.

<sup>231</sup> Hacer Erdoğan, *1086-1089 Tarihleri Arasında Konya'ya Gönderilen Bazı Fermanlar*, (Unpublished BA Dissertation, Selçuk University, Konya 1988), p.27-28.

<sup>232</sup> MM3830, MM2805, MM2789.

<sup>233</sup> Ayşe Türkmen, *96 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili H.1099/1100-M.1687/89, Metin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirme*, (Unpublished MA Thesis, Erciyes University, Kayseri, 1998), p.70. [96:13-39].

<sup>234</sup> MM2793, MM2471, MM2987, MM3820 and Süleyman Akbey, *37 Numaralı [1103/1692 Tarihli] Konya Şer'iyye Sicili*, (Unpublished BA Dissertation, Selçuk University, Konya 1998), p.270-71, 273-74.

province of Adana and the *livas* of Malatya, Tarsus, Maraş, Hamidili, Ayıntab and Sultanönü.<sup>235</sup>

Darling, relying on McGowan's study, assumes that the *bedel-i nüzul* was stabilised at 600 *akçe* only in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, rather than in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century as shown here.<sup>236</sup> It should also be noted here that although from the 1620s the collection of the *bedel-i nüzul* was becoming increasingly regular, the annualization of this revenue source actually dates from the 1660s, not from just after 1683 as has sometimes been assumed.<sup>237</sup>

According to an imperial order, dated 1715 in *45 Nolu Konya şer'iyye sicili*, the *bedel-i nüzul* was also collected at 600 *akçe* plus 30 *akçe* for the *mübaşiriye* in the year 1127/1715.<sup>238</sup>

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<sup>235</sup> MM3820.

<sup>236</sup> Darling, *Revenue-Raising*, p. 115 (footnote 96).

<sup>237</sup> See Faroqhi, "Crises and Change, 1590-1699", p. 532; Cf. Tabakoğlu, *Osmanlı Maliyesi*, p. 158. McGowan, in his study of Economic life in Ottoman Europe has also suggested that this happened between 1585 and 1625. See McGowan, *Economic life in Ottoman Europe*, pp. 108-10.

<sup>238</sup> See Zeki Dinç, *45 Numaralı Konya Şer'iyye Sicili*, (Unpublished BA Dissertation, Selçuk University, Konya, 1998), pp. 40-42. [45:269-2, 45:269-3].



**Table 3.3: *Bedel-i nüzul* rate in *Karaman Eyâleti*: 1621-1700**

Classification	Registered number of the documents	Date	Rate of <i>bedel-i nüzul</i> in <i>akçe</i>
KSS	27	1036/1626	600
MM	3862	1038/1628	600
Konya SS <sup>239</sup>	---	1055/1645	400+10
MM	3838	1058/1648	300
KSS	65	1066/1657	300+25
KSS	66	1067/1658	300+20
MM	2998	1068/1658	300
KSS	70	1070/1659	600+30
MM	3067	1073/4-1664	600
MM	3354	1074/5-1665	600
MM	7857	1080/1670	600
MM	3003	1081/1671	600
MM	2662	1085/1675	600
Konya SS	---	1085/1675	600+30
KK	2665	1086/1676	600
MM	3841	1088/1678	600
MM	3809	1089/1679	600+30
MM	3830	1091/1681	600
MM	2805	1097/1687	600+30 <sup>241</sup>
MM	2789	1098/1688	600
KSS	96	1099/1689	600+30
KSS	96	1100/1690	600+30
MM	2793	1103/1691	600+30
MM	2471	1104/1692	600
Konya SS <sup>240</sup>	---	1693	600+30
MM	2987	1106/1694	600
MM	3807	1108/1696	600
MM	3820	1111/1699	628
Konya SS	45	1127/1715	600+30

<sup>239</sup> Ahmet Ali Öter, *1645 Tarihinde Konya'ya Gönderilen Fermanlar*, pp.16-18.

<sup>240</sup> Zekeriye Bülbül, *Konya'nın Merkezî Yönetim ile ilişkileri*, p. 61.

<sup>241</sup> Ibid. p. 57.

### 3.2.2 *Bedel-i nüzul* yield

As pointed out above, with relation to *avâriz akçesi*, the stability in the numbers of *avârizhâne* of the *livas* also has a direct relation with the amount of *bedel-i nüzul* collected throughout the century. There is a steadily decreasing trend in the amount of *bedel-i nüzul* collected from the c.1676 to the end of century. During the years 1628 to 1699, discounting the two years 1658 and 1672 when the *bedel-i nüzul* was collected at the reduced rate of 300 *akçes* per *hane*, the total *bedel-i nüzul* fluctuated between a low of 1,665,900 *akçes* recorded in 1696 and a high of 1,998,300 recorded in 1670 (see table 3.4).

The *bedel-i nüzul* for the *Konya livası* varies between 246,450 (recorded in 1672) and 492,900 *akçe* (recorded in 1666 and 1668) making between 20% and 29% of the overall total in the *eyâlet* from 1628 to 1699. There is a decreasing trend in the amount of *bedel-i nüzul* collected from 1674 to the end of the century. The *bedel-i nüzul* also displays the same assesment pattern for *Niğde livası* as well. The amount of *bedel-i nüzul* paid by the tax-paying population in *Niğde livası* varies between 121,350 (recorded in 1672) and 314,400 *akçes* (recorded in 1628) making between 12.4% and 18.8% of the overall total in the *eyâlet* in relation to the fluctuations in the number of *avârizhânes* in the years up to c.1640s. There is no increase in the amount of *bedel-i nüzul* collected but a decrease throughout the century. We have the same pattern within the *livas* in the *eyâlet* with one exception, that of *Içil livası*. The amount of *bedel-i nüzul* paid by the tax-paying population in *Beyşehir livası* varies between 145,800 (recorded in 1658) and 296,074 *akçes* (recorded in 1699) (between 13.1% and 16.9% of the total).



The amount of *bedel-i nüzul* paid by the tax-paying population in *Akşehir livası* ranged between 115,875 (recorded in 1658) and 231,750 *akçes* (recorded in 1676) from 1628 to 1699. After 1676 these highs were not consistently sustained and they gradually subsided to 185,850 *akçes* (recorded in 1694). By the end of the century they had subsided to 103,050 (recorded in 1696) and 108,597 *akçes* (recorded in 1699).

The amount of *bedel-i nüzul* paid by the tax-paying population in *Kayseri livası* ranged between 156,850 (recorded in 1658) and 307,650 *akçes* (recorded in 1668) making up between 14.1% and 18.5% of the total from 1628 to 1699. After 1688 these highs gradually subsided to 287,700 *akçes* (recorded in 1692). By 1699 they had subsided to 282,796 *akçes*.

The amount of *bedel-i nüzul* paid in *Aksaray livası* during the years 1628 to 1699, discounting 1658 and 1672 when the *bedel-i nüzul* was collected at the reduced rate of 300 *akçes* per *hane*, the total *bedel-i nüzul* fluctuated between a low of 101,400 *akçes* recorded in 1628 and a high of 151,800 *akçes* recorded in 1681. By the end of the century they had subsided to 141,160 *akçes* (recorded in 1699). Similarly, in *Kırşehir livası* during the years 1628 to 1699, discounting the two years 1658 and 1672 when the *bedel-i nüzul* was collected at the reduced rate of 300 *akçes* per *hane*, the total *bedel-i nüzul* fluctuated between 134,400 *akçes* recorded in 1628 and 86,250 *akçes* recorded in 1696, and between 104,140 (recorded in 1628) and 127,092 (recorded in 1699) making up between 6.1% and 7.2% of the total in *Içil livası* from 1628 to 1699.

**Table 3.4: *Bedel-i nüzul* yield in the province of *Karaman*, 1621-1700**

Date	Rate	Konya	Niğde	Beyşehir	Akşehir	Kayseri
MM3862/1038/1628	600	349,950	314,400	255,300	172,500	237,000
MM2998/1068/1658	300	246,375	149,550	145,800	115,875	156,850
MM3354/1075/1666	600	492,900	243,150	----	231,300	306,750
MM3836/1078/1668	600	492,900	242,700	291,000	231,300	307,650
MM7857/1080/1670	600	492,750	294,600	291,600	231,750	305,550
MM3003/1081/1671	600	492,900	242,700	291,000	231,150	306,750
MM2790/1082/1672	300	246,450	121,350	145,500	115,875	153,975
KK2659/1084/1674	600	492,300	241,950	291,000	231,750	306,300
MM2505/1085/1675	600	492,300	241,950	291,000	231,750	306,300
MM2662/1085/1675	600	492,300	241,950	291,000	231,750	306,300
KK2665/1086/1676	600	492,300	241,950	291,000	231,750	306,300
MM3841/1088/1678	600	492,300	246,150	291,150	230,550	278,100
MM3809/1089/1679	600	492,300	246,150	291,150	230,550	278,100
MM3837/1090/1680	600	492,300	246,150	291,150	230,550	278,100
MM3830/1091/1681	600	492,300	246,150	291,150	230,550	278,100
MM2805/1097/1687	600	486,450	244,950	289,500	224,550	299,550
MM2789/1098/1688	600	486,450	244,800	289,500	224,550	301,950
MM16085/1102/1690	600	485,550	241,350	289,500	204,000	296,700
MM2793/1103/1691	600	480,900	231,000	231,900	184,050	293,850
MM2471/1104/1692	600	475,950	231,000	283,950	183,450	287,700
MM2987/1106/1694	600	475,950	231,150	283,650	185,850	279,550
MM3807/1108/1696	600	435,900	229,500	283,050	103,050	271,050
MM3820/1111/1699	600	455,097	239,957	296,074	108,597	282,796



Date	Rate	Aksaray	Kırşehir	Içil	Total in the province
MM3862/1038/1628	600	101,400	134,400	104,140 <sup>242</sup>	1,669,090
MM2998/1068/1658	300	78,075	54,300	60,375	1,003,200
MM3354/1075/1666	600	151,800	110,400	120,750	1,657,050
MM3836/1078/1668	600	151,800	111,000	120,750	1,949,250
MM7857/1080/1670	600	151,800	109,500	120,750	1,998,300
MM3003/1081/1671	600	151,800	110,400	120,750	1,947,450
MM2790/1082/1672	300	75,900	55,500	60,375	974,925 <sup>243</sup>
KK2659/1084/1674	600	151,800	111,000	120,750	1,946,850
MM2505/1085/1675	600	151,800	111,000	120,750	1,946,850
MM2662/1085/1675	600	151,800	111,000	120,750	1,946,850
KK2665/1086/1676	600	151,800	111,000	120,750	1,946,850
MM3841/1088/1678	600	151,800	111,000	120,750	1,921,800
MM3809/1089/1679	600	151,800	111,000	120,750	1,921,800
MM3837/1090/1680	600	151,800	111,000	120,750	1,921,800
MM3830/1091/1681	600	151,800	111,000	120,750	1,921,800
MM2805/1097/1687	600	138,000	111,000	120,750	1,917,225
MM2789/1098/1688	600	138,000	111,000	120,750	1,917,225
MM16085/1102/1690	600	138,000	95,850	120,750	1,871,700
MM2793/1103/1691	600	138,000	86,250	120,750	1,766,700
MM2471/1104/1692	600	138,000	86,250	120,750	1,812,250
MM2987/1106/1694	600	138,000	86,250	120,750	1,801,250
MM3807/1108/1696	600	136,350	86,250	120,750	1,665,900
MM3820/1111/1699	600	141,160	91,525	127,092	1,742,510

<sup>242</sup> The *bedel-i nüzul* was collected at 410 *akçe* in the *liva* of İçil in the year 1038/1628. See MM3862.

<sup>243</sup> This figure is out of line because no sum is recorded for the *liva* of Beyşehir. This remains unexplained.

**Table 3.5: Increase and decrease in the total amount of collected *bedel-i nüzul* in each *liva* as percentage, between 1628-1699**

Date	Konya	Niğde	Beyşehir	Akşehir	Kayseri	Aksaray	Kırşehir	Içil
1628	20.9%	18.8%	15.2%	10.33%	14.1%	6%	8%	6.2%
1658	24.5%	14.9%	14.5%	11.5%	15.6%	7.78%	5.4%	6.1%
1664	24.6%	14.7%	14.5%	11.5%	15.2%	7.5%	5.4%	6%
1666	29.7%	14.6%	----	13.9%	18.5%	9.1%	6.6%	7.2%
1668	25.2%	12.4%	14.9%	11.8%	15.7%	7.7%	5.6%	6.1%
1671	25.3%	12.4%	14.9%	11.8%	15.7%	7.7%	5.6%	6.2%
1672	25.2%	12.4%	14.9%	11.8%	15.7%	7.7%	5.6%	6.1%
1674	25.2%	12.4%	14.9%	11.9%	15.7%	7.7%	5.7%	6.2%
1675	25.2%	12.4%	14.9%	11.9%	15.7%	7.7%	5.7%	6.2%
1676	25.2%	12.4%	14.9%	11.9%	15.7%	7.7%	5.7%	6.2%
1678	25.6%	12.8%	15.1%	11.9%	14.4%	7.8%	5.7%	6.2%
1679	25.6%	12.8%	15.1%	11.9%	14.4%	7.8%	5.7%	6.2%
1680	25.6%	12.8%	15.1%	11.9%	14.4%	7.8%	5.7%	6.2%
1681	25.6%	12.8%	15.1%	11.9%	14.4%	7.8%	5.7%	6.2%
1687	25.3%	12.7%	15%	11.7%	15.6%	7.1%	5.7%	6.2%
1688	25.3%	12.7%	15%	11.7%	15.6%	7.1%	5.7%	6.2%
1691	27.2%	13%	13.1%	10.4%	16.6%	7.8%	4.88%	6.83%
1692	26.2%	12.7%	15.6%	10.1%	15.8%	7.6%	4.75%	6.66%
1694	26.4%	12.8%	15.7%	10.3%	15.5%	7.6%	4.78%	6.70%
1696	26.1%	13.7%	16.9%	6.1%	16.2%	8.1%	5.1%	7.2%
1699	26.1%	13.7%	16.9%	6.2%	16.2%	8.1%	5.2%	7.2%



### 3.4 The *avâriz akçesi* and *bedel-i nüzul* yield in the province of Karaman: 1628-1700

Table 3.6 displays the amounts of cash *avâriz* and *bedel-i nüzul* collected in the *Karaman eyâleti* as a whole between 1628 and 1699. The 1628 register tells us only the amount of *bedel-i nüzul* for the *eyâlet* without giving any information on the cash *avâriz* for the year. Thus, we are not able to give the total money collected for the province in 1628. Registers used for this study reveal that the total cash *avâriz* and *bedel-i nüzul* in the *eyâlet* varied between 2,316,500 *akçe* (recorded in 1658) and 3,249,850 *akçe* (recorded in 1670) from 1658 to 1699.

**Table 3.6: Total cash *avâriz* and *bedel-i nüzul* yield in *Karaman eyâleti*: 1628-1700**

Date	<i>Bedel-i nüzul</i>	<i>Avarız akçesi</i>	Total in <i>akçe</i>
MM3862/1038/1628	1,669,090	-----?	----
MM2998/1068/1658	1,003,200	1,313,300 <sup>244</sup>	2,316,500
MM3067/1073/1664	-----?	1,298,700	-----?
MM3354/1075/1666	1,657,050	1,298,700 <sup>245</sup>	2,955,750
MM3836/1078/1668	1,949,250	1,299,400	3,248,650
KK2653/1080/1670	1,949,750	1,299,900	3,249,650
KK2651/1080/1670	1,949,950	1,299,900	3,249,850
MM3003/1081/1671	1,947,450	1,298,400 <sup>246</sup>	3,245,850
MM2790/1082/1672	974,925	1,299,900	2,274,825
KK2659/1084/1674	1,946,850	1,297,900	3,244,750
MM2505/1085/1675	1,946,850	1,297,900	3,244,750
KK2665/1086/1676	1,946,850	1,297,900	3,244,750
MM3841/1088/1678	1,921,800	1,281,200	3,203,000
MM3809/1089/1679	1,921,800	1,281,200	3,203,000
MM3837/1090/1680	1,921,800	1,281,200	3,203,000
MM3830/1091/1681	1,921,800	1,281,200	3,203,000
MM2805/1097/1687	1,917,225	1,276,550	3,193,775
MM2789/1098/1688	1,917,225	1,276,550	3,193,775
MM16085/1102/1690	1,871,700	1,244,250	3,115,950
MM2793/1103/1691	1,766,700	1,213,825	2,980,525
MM2471/1104/1692	1,812,250	1,205,125	3,017,375
MM2987/1106/1694	1,801,880	1,197,650	2,999,530
MM3807/1108/1696	1,665,900	1,110,367	2,776,267
MM3820/1111/1699	1,742,510	1,102,365	2,844,875

<sup>244</sup> KK2627.

<sup>245</sup> MM2783.

<sup>246</sup> MM3834.



### 3.5 Tax burden on the tax-paying subjects

The registers examined for this study have shown that *avâriz* and *bedel-i nüzul* taxation in Karaman was fairly standardised and fairly stable during the seventeenth century, particularly from c.1659 onwards. Initial comparison with registers from other provinces suggests also that this was the case in other areas of Anadolu and northern Syria. Variations in yield occurred due to changes in the number of *avârizhânes*, not to frequent changes in the rate of assessment. Taken together at standard levels, the *avâriz akçesi* (400 *akçe*) and the *bedel-i nüzul* (600 *akçe*) give an annual total of 1000 *akçe* due per *avârizhâne* for the main *avâriz-i divaniye* levies (see table 3.7 below for occasional variations). The fact that these levies were collected efficiently and with relatively few complaints (as far as is known) suggest that the level of taxation which they represent was acceptable to taxpayers. What might 1000 *akçe* per *avârizhâne* have meant more specifically to the *gerçekhânes* or *nefers* within each group?

An attempt may be made here to establish how much money was regarded as 'wealth' in 17<sup>th</sup>-century Ottoman society, in order to be able to place the *avâriz* and *nüzul* taxes in some kind of perspective for the tax payers. How many *akçe* was normal accumulation and how many *akçe* constituted substantial wealth? Halil Inalcik attempted to define the economic status of individuals at the end of the fifteenth century on the basis of estates entered in the *şer'iyye sicils*, concluding that a person was poor (*edna*) if their holdings did not exceed 20 Venetian ducats (about 1,000 *akçe*), as in 26% of the cases he studied. Fifty eight percent with between 1,000 and 10,000 *akçe* he regarded as of being a middle level (*evsat*), and

16%, with between 10,000 and 100,000 *akçe*, rich (*âla*).<sup>247</sup> Relying on Haim Gerber's study on the same city on the basis of similar sources for the period between 1600 and 1700, Metin Kunt points out that by that era a person with an estate of less than 20,000 *akçe* was poor (*edna*), the middle group (*evsat*) held between 20,000 and 100,000, and the rich (*ala*) held more than 100,000 *akçe*.<sup>248</sup> According to these estimates, an estate of 100,000 *akçe* is considered very large and established, not only in the 15<sup>th</sup> century but also after the inflation and devaluation of the *akçe*<sup>249</sup> towards the end of 16<sup>th</sup> century. While these figures do not relate directly to our consideration of *avâriz/nüzul* impositions, they do provide a general context for assumptions about wealth and value in the seventeenth century.

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<sup>247</sup> Inalcik defined a category of the very rich, big merchants, money-changers, jewellers and silk weavers, 1.3 percent of cases, who held more than 2.000 ducats or 100.000 *akçe*. On this see Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire*, p.162; "Bursa and the Commerce of the Levant.", *JESHO*, vol. III-2 (1960), pp.131-142; "Osmanli Idari, Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihiyle ilgili Belgeler: Bursa Kadi Sicillerinden Secmeler," I: *Belgeler* 10, No: 14 (1980-81):1-91; II: *Belgeler* 13, No:17 (1988):1-41; III: *Belgeler* 15, No:19 (1993):23-47.

<sup>248</sup> For further information on the "wealth" issue in the Ottoman State see Metin Kunt, *The Sultans Servants: The Transformation of the Ottoman Provincial Government, 1550-1650*. Especially Chapter 3: The Umera Status: 31-56 and Chapter 4: The Structure of the Military-Administrative Career: 57-76.

<sup>249</sup> On this see, Barkan, "The price Revolution of the sixteenth Century: A turning point in the economic history of the Near East", *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 6 (1975): 3-28; Şevket Pamuk, "Money in the Ottoman Empire, 1326-1914", in *An economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*. Edited by Halil Inalcik with Donald Quataert, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1994): 947-80; *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000): 112-130; "The re-assessment of the price revolution in the Ottoman empire." in Kemal Çiçek, Ercument Kuran, Nejat Göyünç and İlber Ortaylı (eds). *The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilisation, vol. 2, Economy and Society*, Yeni Türkiye, (Ankara, 2000): 111-119; cf. also his "The price revolution in the Ottoman empire reconsidered", *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 33 (2001): 69-89.



**Table 3.7: The tax burden on the tax-paying population, 1628-1700**

Date	1.Cash <i>avâriz</i> and <i>bedel-i nüzul</i> per <i>avârizhâne</i> unit in <i>akçe</i>	2.Cash <i>avâriz</i> and <i>bedel-i nüzul</i> per <i>gerçekhâne</i> in <i>akçe</i>	3.Cash <i>avâriz</i> and <i>bedel-i nüzul</i> per <i>gerçekhâne</i> per month in <i>akçe</i>
1628	1000	90.9	7.5
1645	810	73.6	6.1
1648	700	63.6	5.3
1657	700	63.6	5.3
1658	705	64	5.3
1659	1000	90.9	7.5
1664	1015	92.3	7.6
1665	1000	90.9	7.5
1666	910	82.7	6.8
1668	1000	90.9	7.5
1670	1000	90.9	7.5
1671	1000	90.9	7.5
1672	700	63.6	5.3
1674	1000	90.9	7.5
1675	1000	90.9	7.5
1676	1000	90.9	7.5
1678	1000	90.9	7.5
1679	1000	90.9	7.5
1680	1000	90.9	7.5
1681	1000	90.9	7.5
1687	1000	90.9	7.5
1688	1000	90.9	7.5
1690	1000	90.9	7.5
1691	977	88.8	7.4
1692	1001.9	91	7.5
1693	1050	95.4	7.9
1694	1000	90.9	7.5
1696	1000	90.9	7.5
1699	1000	90.9	7.5
<b>average</b>	<b>951.86</b>	<b>86.5</b>	<b>7.2</b>

We will now look more specifically at the tax burden in question. Table 3.7 above offers a basis for this discussion. Column 1 gives the combined total of *avâriz akçesi* and *bedel-i nüzul* levied per *avârizhâne* in a particular year. Column 2 estimates the annual payment required of each *gerçekhâne* or *nefer* in an *avârizhâne*, based on a notional 11 *gerçekhânes* per *avârizhâne*.<sup>250</sup> This annual

<sup>250</sup> For variations in the Karaman region, see table 2.28 above.

figure averages 86.5 *akçes*. The figure of 120 *akçes* demanded as *rüsum* in the Kayseri area in 1645 (see chapter 5) may also be an annual *avâriz-nüzul* payment. If that it so, then our estimate of c.86.5 *akçes* per annum needs to be revised upwards. However, as it is not clear from the text exactly what taxes are included in the term *rüsum*, we can take this argument no further at present.

Returning to table 3.7, column 3 divides this by twelve to give an idea of an average monthly rate. This brings the tax burden down to single figures and makes it easier to see in the context of, for example, prices of everyday foodstuffs as given in table 3.8. Prices are taken from the fixed prices (*narh*) specified in the *şer'iyye sicils* of Konya for the dates concerned. While commodity prices show a natural fluctuation, *avâriz/nüzul* levels remain relatively constant. The implications of this appear more clearly in table 3.9, which gives an indication of the percentage increase of commodity prices in the years between 1630 and 1674: practically all commodity costs shown have increased, some significantly so. Although these figures do not correspond exactly to the best-documented years of the *avâriz/nüzul* registers, and small changes in *avârizhâne* composition need to be considered, it is nevertheless clear that these particular taxes remained relatively stable while other essential prices were rising. Taxpayers would not have identified any financial difficulty with tax demands. For example, studying Ottoman warfare between 1500 and 1700, Murphey points out that in the 1653 Ottoman budget, 48.1 million *akçe* out of 580 million *akçe* was paid in the *bedel-i nüzul*, equivalent to 8.3% of the overall total. Considering these figures Murphey



reached an interim conclusion saying that 'The *bedel-i nüzul* should not be regarded as a crippling extra burden on the peasantry',<sup>251</sup>

*Avâriz* and *nüzul* levies (and commodity prices) were calculated officially in *akçe* throughout the seventeenth century, despite the declining value of the *akçe* due to inflation and the likelihood that the actual cash given in tax was increasingly paid using some other coin.<sup>252</sup> Following the massive Ottoman debasement of 1585 to 1586, the Ottoman central government had financially to cope with a period of wars, rebellions, fiscal crises, and extreme instability of the silver *akçe* up to the middle of the seventeenth century.<sup>253</sup> The implication of these events and the decline in *akçe* value was a certain degree of tax increase and possible cause of some fluctuation in *avâriz* and *nüzul* rates in the earlier registers, 1621- c.1659. Levelling out thereafter, was also a contributory factor in relatively stable *avârizhâne* numbers. Darling has shown how, for the period 1555 to 1655, the percentage increase in the cash *avâriz* was slightly greater (21%) than the rate of inflation, in a period of unprecedented financial instability.<sup>254</sup> Here again, the stable rates in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup>-century show that *avâriz/nüzul* rates did not rise significantly and therefore would not have been perceived as an increased

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<sup>251</sup> See Murphey, *Ottoman warfare*, p.51. For the revenues of the Ottoman central treasury in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, see Halil Sahillioğlu, "1524-1525 Osmanlı Bütçesi", *IÜİFM*, 41(1985): 415-432. "The Income and Expenditures of the Ottoman Treasury between 1683 and 1740," *Revue d'histoire maghre'bine*, 25-26 (1982): 65-84. Ö.Lütfi Barkan, "1070-1071 (1660/1661) Tarihli Osmanlı Bütçesi ve Bir Mukayese", *IÜİFM*, 17 (1955/56): 304-347; "1079-1080 (1669/1670) Mâli Yılına ait Bir Osmanlı Bütçesi ve Ekleri", *IÜİFM*, 17 (1955/56): 225-303; Ahmet Tabakoğlu, *Gerileme Dönemine Girerken Osmanlı Maliyesi*, pp. 74-82; "XVII ve XVIII, Yüzyıl Osmanlı Bütçeleri", Ord. Prof. Ömer. Lütfi Barkan'a Armağan, *IÜİFM*, 41 (1985): 389-414.

<sup>252</sup> Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 142-48, 159-60.

<sup>253</sup> Pamuk, "In the Absence of Domestic Currency: Debased European Coinage in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Empire", *The Journal of Economic History*, vol.57, no.2 (June 1997), p. 347.

<sup>254</sup> Darling, *Revenue-Raising*, p. 116-17.

tax burden. However having said that, Darling points out that if the *per capita* income was decreasing in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, even a small increase in the tax rate would have placed a proportionately greater burden on tax payers.<sup>255</sup> As far as we can indicate from the figures available in archival documents and, indeed, the government's budgets, the increase was minimal.

The increase in the amount of *avâriz* and *nüzul* levies in the general budget also supports this point. For example, in 1070/71-1660/61, the total *avâriz* and the *bedel-i nüzul* collected throughout the empire was 110,309,764 *akçe* (18% of the total income: 610,338,188).<sup>256</sup> In 1079/80-1669/70, the *avâriz* and the *bedel-i nüzul* totalled 122,186,163 *akçe* (19.9% of the general income: 612,528,960 *akçe*).<sup>257</sup> Finally the decreasing yield from *avâriz/nüzul*, shown in the registers for the province above, supports the general downward trend reported by Tabakoğlu in the *avâriz akçesi*, *bedel-i nüzul* and *bedel-i sürsat* throughout the empire in the last decade of the seventeenth century. Tabakoğlu notes that between 1691 and 1700 the percentage of *avâriz* levies in the total revenue declined significantly, from 19.8% (186,089,213 *akçe*) in 1691, rising in 1694 to 20.1% (187,852,035 *akçe*), but then falling regularly to 14.3% (180,310,170 *akçe*) in 1698/99, and then to 12.0% (140,306,495 *akçe*) in 1700-1.<sup>258</sup>

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<sup>255</sup> Darling, *Revenue-Raising*, p. 118.

<sup>256</sup> *mâl-i 'avâriz ve bedel-i nüzul tâbi'i Kalem-i Mevkufat'*: 110.309.764. See Barkan, "1070-1071(1660/1661) Tarihli Osmanlı Bütçesi ve Bir Mukayese", *İÜİFM*, 17 (1955/56), p. 308-309.

<sup>257</sup> See Barkan, "1079-1080 (1669/1670) Mâli Yılına ait Bir Osmanlı Bütçesi ve Ekleri", *İÜİFM*, 17 (1955/56), p. 225-26.

<sup>258</sup> The *avâriz* revenue continued to decrease in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In 1701-2 it was 141.597.720 *akçe* (11.9%), 141,115,650 *akçe* (11.5%) in 1702-3, 138,403,305 *akçe* (11.03%) in 1704-5, 137,684,475 *akçe* (11%) in 1706-7, 146,930,040 *akçe* (11.2%) in 1710-1, 146,104,740 *akçe* (9.4%) in 1746-7 and 156,554,580 *akçe* (9.4%) in 1748. See Tabakoğlu, *Osmanlı Maliyesi*, p.153.



In the case of Karaman however, the increase is well below the rate of inflation seen in the food prices. Table 3.8 and table 3.9 utilise data on the prices of standard commodities (foods) collected from more than 10 different *şer'iyye sicils* of Konya. In the first stage of the study, the fixed food prices (*narh*) for the 15 different items for a given year, have been constructed. To the extent that was possible, standard commodities have been used in the construction of table 3.8, in order to be able to see the changing patterns of food prices to the affect of inflation. This will help us to produce a comparison picture between the rise in the food prices and the *avâriz* and *nüzul* tax burden on the taxable population in the province. These 15 leading items of consumption, comprise of sheep meat, goat meat, cow meat, bread, black grapes, nuts, chick peas, lentils, rice, bulgur, honey, cheese, garlic, plain oil (*sade yağı*), and flour. The weight of the items in the table is based on the Ottoman measuring system.

Table 3.8: Selected commodity prices in *akçe* in the city of Konya, 1630-1674

	W	1630-1	1632	1644	1646	1661	1662	1667	1670	1672	1673	1674
s.m	V	7	8-9	7	5	7-9	8-10	8-9	8	9-14	8-13	8-10
g.m	V	6	7	-	4	6-7	7-9	6-8	7	8-13	7-12	7-9
c.m	V	4-5	-	-	3	4-8	5-6	4-5	4	4-7	3-6	5
b	d/	220/1	260/1	-	450/1	60/1	100-110/1	160-180/1	160/1	100/1	100-	170/1
a											190/1	
b.g	V	-	-	6	5	7-8	7-8	6	8-10	10	8-10	8
n	V	10	12	10	10	-	16	-	-	-	-	18
c.p	V	2	-	3	2	6	7-8	5	5	6	4	4
l	V	-	4	-	3	6	8	-	5	-	-	4
r	V	-	5-7	6-7	1 kile: 50-6	9	12	12	10	16-18	16	14
bul	V	3	4	3	2	10	10	4	5	7	-	5
h	V	-	11-20	17-18	14-20	20-28	20	-	30-36	26	32-36	36-39
ch	V	-	-	6	-	7-12	10-14	6	12	16	10	10
s	V	1.5v/1	1.5v/1	200d/1-2	2v/1	-	1	-	1	1	-	1
o	V	1.5v/1	-	-	-	-	2-3	1.5v/1	1	3	1	2
g	V	-	-	6	-	-	8	38	8-10	-	-	12
p.o	V	22	24	18-20	16-20	28	30-36	-	38-42	-	40-48	46
f	V	16	-	10-12	12	-	-	-	-	32	-	16-18

Abbreviations: W: weight, s.m: sheep meat, g.m: goat meat, c.m: cow meat, b: bread, b.g: black grape, n: nut, c.p: chick peas, l: lentils, r: rice, bul: bulgur, h: honey, ch: cheese, s: salt, o: onion, g: garlic, v: *vukiyye*<sup>259</sup>, d/a: dirhem<sup>260</sup>/*akçe*, p.o: plain oil (*sade yağı*), f: flour. *Kile*: the value of the *kile* varied according to the region. The one most commonly in use was the *Istanbul kile(si)* which , in metric term, is equivalent of 25.656 kg.

Details are taken from Bayram Ürekli, "XVII.Yüzyılda Konya'da Bazı Eşya ve Yiyecek Fıatları", *Selçuk Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Edebiyat Dergisi*, 6 (1991): 223-261.

<sup>259</sup> *Vukiyye*=okka; unit of weight, in most cases corresponding to 1.2829 kg. See Inalcik, "Introduction to Ottoman metrology" in *Studies in Ottoman social and economic history*, (London 1985), p.340.

<sup>260</sup> Dirhem; unit of weight (3.207 gr) for further information see Inalcik, "Introduction to Ottoman metrology", p.311 and Pakalin, "dirhem".



**Table 3.9: % Increase in 1674 over figures for 1630: There are obvious fluctuations in between, but this is as a general guide.**

Item	%
Sheep meet (mutton)	10
Goat meat	10
Cow meat (beef)	0
Bread	22.72
Black grapes	33.3
Nut	80
Chick peas	100
Lentils	0
Rice	180
Bulgur	66
Honey	227
Cheese	66
Garlic	100
Plain oil (sade yağı)	109
Flour	12.5
<b>Net increase</b>	<b>67.76</b>

Obviously there were a number of reasons for the inflation, indicated by both tables 3.8 and 3.9, during the given period. The silver content of Ottoman currency declined most rapidly during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. From the long-term perspective offered by Pamuk, in his studies of the Ottoman currency, there is strong evidence that debasements, or the reduction of the silver content of the unit, by the monetary authorities of the Ottoman government, was the most important cause of Ottoman price increases.<sup>261</sup> As seen from table 3.8, there were some movements in the commodity prices expressed in *akçe*. They increased overall from 1630 to 1674 with fluctuation in between. This fluctuation, however, occurred as a fairly long-term trend which was rising

<sup>261</sup> Pamuk, "Money and Prices in the Ottoman Empire, 1500-1914", A paper presented at the Department of Economics and Finance, University of Durham, (June 7, 2000), p. 2; "In the Absence of Domestic Currency", pp. 352-57; *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, pp. 112-30; "Money in the Ottoman Empire, 1326-1914", in Halil Inalcik and Donald Quataert (eds.), *The Ottoman Empire: its Economy and Society, 1300-1914*, (Cambridge University Press, 1995): 947-80; also see his "The Disintegration of the Ottoman Monetary System During the Seventeenth

modestly. Table 3.9 shows the rate of change of nominal prices. The results in the table indicates that food prices experienced a net increase of about 67.76 % from 1630s to 1670s. This overall increase corresponds to an average increase of 1.54% per year ( $67.76\%/44 \text{ years} = 1.54\% \text{ per annum}$ ), for the period. Similarly, there was an overall increase in the amount of *avâriz* and *bedel-i nüzul* paid by each *gerçekhâne*, by a total of 2.9 *akçe* (3.19%) during the course of 71 years. This overall increase corresponds to an annual increase of 0.045% ( $3.19\%/71$  or  $0.045 \text{ per annum}$ ) increase per year for the same period. If we put the increase and decrease both in food prices and tax burden on the tax-paying population it will be clear that the per annum increase of food prices was 34 times greater than the per annum increase for taxes ( $1.54 \% \text{ per annum} / \text{against } 0.045 \% \text{ per annum} = 34.22$ ). The actual rise per year in the *avâriz* and *nüzul* levies was considerably less than the rate of food prices. This conclusion must be taken into account when evaluating claims about tax increases. For example, if *per capita* earnings were decreasing in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century Ottoman province of Karaman, even a small increase in the *avâriz* and *nüzul* rates would have placed a proportionately greater burden on tax payers. Further research needs to be done in order to be able to reach firmer conclusions. However having said all this, the figures in table 3.7 suggest that *avâriz* and *nüzul* levies on their own were not unbearably burdensome for the tax-payers. We know from the existing studies that in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries in most of the empire the tax-paying population paid between 22 and 70 *akçe* in the name of *çift resmi*,<sup>262</sup> which was collected by the *sipahi* in either kind

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Century", *Princeton Papers in Near Eastern Studies* no:2 (1993): 67-81; c.f Haim Gerber, "The Monetary System of the Ottoman Empire", *JESHO*, 25 (1982): 309-324.

<sup>262</sup> *Çift resmi* was a kind of tax within the *Çift-hâne* system in the Ottoman empire: A system by which the state organised rural society and economy by appropriating arable land and distributing



or in cash.<sup>263</sup> The *çift-resmi* was abandoned later on upon the regularization of *avâriz* and *nüzul* levies as ordinary rather than extra-ordinary taxes.<sup>264</sup> This was due to immediate cash needs for the central treasury as a result of long term wars which forced the Ottoman administration to re-consider its classical tax system.<sup>265</sup> Considering the time span and the inflation rate, one could say that an average of 86.5 *akçe* per *gerçekhâne* for each calender year should not be regarded as burdensome to the Ottoman tax-payers.

A possible conclusion to be drawn from the figures presented is as follows. *Avâriz* and *nüzul* were collected annually rather than occasionally from 1640, probably from at least 1621.

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it under the *tapu tahrir* system to peasant families (*hâne*). Each family, in theory, in possession of a pair of oxen, was given a farm (*çiftlik*) sufficient to sustain the family and to meet its tax obligations. This was the basic fiscal unit which the state endeavoured to maintain. Families with less than a *çift* or *çiftlik* were separately categorised in the *tahrir* registers as *nîm çift*, *bennâk*, and were subject to lower rates of *çift*-tax. On the *çift-hâne* system, see Halil Inalcik, "The *Çift-hâne* System: The Organization of Ottoman Rural Society", in Halil Inalcik and Donald Quataert (eds.) *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*: 143-154; cf. also Mehmet Öz, "Agriculture in the Ottoman Classical Period", in Kemal Çiçek, Ercument Kuran, Nejat Göyünç and İlber Ortaylı (eds). *The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilisation, vol. 2, Economy and Society*, Yeni Türkiye, (Ankara, 2000): 32-32.

<sup>263</sup> Halil Inalcik, "Osmanlılarda Râiyyet Rûsumu", *T.T.K Belleten*, (1959): 575-609; "Çift-Resmi", *EF*<sup>2</sup> (1960), vol, II: 32; Neşet Çağatay, "Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Reayadan Alınan Vergi ve Resimler", *AÜDTCFD*, 5 (1947): 483-511.

<sup>264</sup> Inalcik, "Râiyyet rûsumu", p. 595; "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire.", p. 313-14; Şevket Pamuk, *A Monetary History of the Ottoman Empire*, (Cambridge University Press, Canbridge, 1999), p. 86, 128 & Personnel communications; cf. also his "The re-assessment of the price revolution in the Ottoman empire." in Kemal Çiçek, Ercument Kuran, Nejat Göyünç and İlber Ortaylı (eds). *The Great Ottoman-Turkish Civilisation, vol. 2, Economy and Society*, Yeni Türkiye, (Ankara, 2000), p. 117.

<sup>265</sup> On classical tax system see, Inalcik, "Osmanlı Tımar Rejimi ve Sipâhi Ordusu", *Türk Kültürü* III/34 (1969): 758-65; "The Provincial Administration and the Tımar System" in *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1600*: 104-118; "The *Çift-hâne* System: The Organization of Ottoman Rural Society", in Halil Inalcik and Donald Quataert (eds.) *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300-1914*: 143-154. On the transformation of the Ottoman *tımar* system, see Halil Inalcik "Military and Fiscal Transformation in the Ottoman Empire"; Mustafa Akdağ, "Tımar Rejiminin Bozuluşu", *AÜDTCFD*, 3 (1945): 419-431; Douglas A. Howard, "The Ottoman Tımar System and Its Transformation, 1563-1656", (Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Indiana University, 1987).

Having become an ordinary source of income rather than an extraordinary revenue, in order to meet war-time expenses during the campaign period of the 1620s, they were levied in the same year and the same *avârizhâne* unit. Once the system was firmly established, *nüzul* rates were higher than *avâriz*.

There was a slight decrease in yield towards the end of the century. In the light of existing works it is clear that the percentage of *avâriz* and *bedel-i nüzul* in the Ottoman budgets was also decreasing towards the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century and continued to decrease in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

Rates remained stable at 400 *akçe* for *avâriz* from c. 1628, and *nüzul* at 600 *akçe* from c. 1659 in *Karaman eyâleti* which can also be seen to occur in other Anatolian and northern Syrian provinces.

The tax burden does not appear heavy, by comparison with commodity prices as known to exist and with the fluctuations in these. Although the tax burden on the tax-paying population did not remain the same, it did not rise significantly either, during the period under study. In the light of the archival documents used in this chapter, it can be said that *avâriz akçesi* and *bedel-i nüzul* impositions in the Ottoman province of Karaman during the 17<sup>th</sup> century did not become a greater hardship for the tax-paying subjects in general. Seeing the consistent stability in the *avâriz/nüzul* system, one could also suggest that the system had an acceptable manner of functioning in the empire.



## Chapter 4

### Collectors of *avâriz* and *nüzul* levies in *Karaman Eyâleti*: 1621-1700

In Ottoman studies there have been collective biographical studies on the personnel of the imperial palace, the sultan's household, the households of *viziers* and *paşas*, and on the personal backgrounds of the members of certain branches of the central administration.<sup>266</sup> Such studies enable us to follow recruitment patterns, changes in the numbers or educational levels of personnel, length of period in office, etc. Study of more minor groups employed in the Ottoman government, such as *avâriz* and *nüzul* collectors, is at a preliminary stage. Fortunately, the *avâriz* and *nüzul* *defters*, and *sicils* used for the present study contain sufficient information about such tax collectors to enable us to make a useful comment on their origins and status.<sup>267</sup> This chapter focuses on two related aspects: first, it provides a picture of the range of individuals involved in *avâriz* and *nüzul* collection, whether from the military class, the *ulema* or others; second, it examines the changes during the century in the type of person appointed, and what ranks the collection candidate held before attaining those of *avâriz* and *nüzul* collection. It will be interesting to assess at what stage, if at all, the palace

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<sup>266</sup> I. Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin Saray Teşkilatı*, (Ankara, 1945); *Kapıkulu Ocakları*, 2 vols. (Ankara, 1943-44); Rifaat. A Abou-el-haj, "The Ottoman Vezir and Pasa Households, 1683-1703: A preliminary Report.", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XCIV (1974): 438-447; I. Metin Kunt, "Ethnic-Regional (Cins) Solidarit in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Establishment", *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 5 (1974): 233-39; "Kulların Kulları." *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi-Hümaniter Bilimler*, 3 (1975): 27-42; "Derviş Mehmet Paşa, Vezir and Entrepreneur: A Study in Ottoman Political-Economic Theory and Practice", *Turcica*, 9/1 (1977): 197-214; *The Sultans Servants: The Transformation of the Ottoman Provincial Government, 1550-1650*, (New York, 1983); Norman Itskowitz, "Eighteenth century Ottoman Realities.", *Studia Islamica* 16 (1962): 73-94.

<sup>267</sup> The registers also contain a number of miscellaneous incidental comments on both the collectors and the collection procedure. These will be considered in a separate, later, study.

officials or the followers of 'great men of state' became involved in the collection process. To begin with, however, we will briefly discuss the collection procedure itself.

#### 4.1 *Avâriz* and *nüzul*: the collection procedure

This section considers how *avâriz* and *bedel-i nüzul* collection proceeded, how the collectors were required to work with provincial *kadıs* and other prominent local leaders, and the various stages of performing the collection.

No orders relating to the procedural details of collection are found in the *avâriz* and *nüzul* registers themselves. The main source of evidence are the *sicils* of Kayseri and Konya, which contain a number of imperial decrees relating to the collection of these taxes, and to complaints about problems of payment, extortion and malpractice.<sup>268</sup> From these imperial decrees we are able to explain, to a certain degree, how *avâriz* collection was made in *Karaman eyâleti*.

##### 4.1.1 Appointing a collector

Evidence on the appointment and verification of a tax collector appears in the Kayseri *sicil* for 1036/1626.<sup>269</sup>

<sup>268</sup> On complaints in the *avâriz* system, see Chapter 5. Cf also Süleyman Demirci, "Complaints in the Ottoman *avâriz*-tax system: An aspect of the relationships between centre and periphery. A case study of the Ottoman province of Karaman, 1618-1700 (according to *ser'iyye sicilleri*)", *Paper delivered at BRISMES 2001 annual conference 15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> July: The view from the top: State and People in the Middle East*, The University of Edinburgh, (Edinburgh, 2001); "Seeking justice: Muslim and non-Muslim in the *kadı's* court. A case study of Kayseri, 1610s-1690s (according to *şer'iyye sicilleri* of Kayseri)", *paper delivered at an international conference held at the University of Walse Lampeter, 3<sup>rd</sup>-6th November 2001: 'Anthropology, archaeology and heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: the life and times of F W Hasluck (1878-1920)*, (Lampeter, 2001).

<sup>269</sup> Ahmet Gündüz, *27/3 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili 1035/36-1625/26*, (Unpublished MA Thesis, Erciyes University, Kayseri, 1995), p. 811-812. [27:115-1048]. For similar imperial decrees regarding *avâriz* and *nüzul* collection in *Karaman eyâleti* see, Ayşe Türkmen, *96 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili H.1099/1100-M.1687/89, Metin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirme*, (Unpublished MA Thesis, Erciyes University, Kayseri, 1998), p.69-70 [96:13-38, 96:13-39], p.147, 148 and 149 [96:68-189, 96:69-190, 96:71-192]: M. Ali Kalipçioğlu, *65 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili H.1067/68-M.1656/58, Metin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirme*, (Unpublished MA Thesis, Erciyes University, Kayseri, 1996), p.297-298 [65:91-234], p.317-318[65:100-247]: Murat



"Emr-i şerif-i bedel-i nüzul ....Niğde sancağında vaki' olan kadılar zidefezalihum tevki'-i ref'i hümayun vasıl olıcak m'alum ola ki zikr olunan kadılıklarda vaki' avârizhânesinin bin otuz altı senesi için her bir hânedan bedel-i nüzul altışar yüz akçeyi irsal olunan nişanlı ve mühürlü defter mucebince zamanı hulul eyledikte ebna-i sipahiyandan iki yüz dokuzuncu (209) bölükte ulufeciyan-i yemen subaşlarından olan ....Cafer Mustafa zide kadrihuya cem' ve tahsil itdirmek emr idüb buyurdum ki hükm-i şerifimle mezbur vardukda bu babda sadır olan emrim üzerine 'amel idüb dahi zikr olunan kadılıklarda vaki' avârizhânesinin tarih-i mezkur için her bir hânedan bedel-i nüzul altışar yüz akçeyi irsal olunan nişanlı ve beratlı ve mühürlü mevkufat defteri mucebince mezbur kuluma cem' ve tahsil ve kabz ve defter itdürüb bir ferde ta'allül itdirmeyesin....ve hasil olan akçeyi defteri ile ve bir kese idüb ve mühürleyib mezbur kulomla ve yarar adamlarımla ordu-yu hümayunuma irsal ve isal ve dahl-i hazine itdiresin amma hin-i cem'de tamam-i ihtimam idüb hilaf-i emr-i şerif re'ayaya te'addi ve tecavüzdan ve diğer defterden ve fermanımdan ziyade akçe aldirmakdan ziyade hazer idüb vech-i meşruh üzere olan emrimi yerine getiresin şöyle bilesin 'alamet-i şerife 'itimad kılasın ... kayd fi 9 şehr-i cemaziye'l-evvel sene 1036 (1626).

Imperial order regarding the *bedel-i nüzul* collection; To the *kadis* of *Niğde livası* when my sublime tuğra arrives, let it be known that, the *bedel-i nüzul* substitute in the year 1036/1626 for each *avârizhânes* in the districts of *Niğde livası* is to be collected at the rate of 600 *akçe* by Cafer Mustafa, from 209 standing cavalry regiment of *ulufeciyan-i yemen*, in accordance with sealed and stamped register in his hand. ... when my Noble Command arrives, you should act in accordance with the *fırman* issued for this matter, and the *bedel-i nüzul* in those districts for the year should be collected by my servant (Cafer Mustafa) at 600 *akçe* from each *avârizhânes* in accordance with the *beratlı* and sealed *mevkufat* register (*avârizhâne defteri*). The record for this matter should be kept in a register and that ... You shall act justly in this matter and not let anything be demanded contrary to my *fırman* and the register. You should know this and trust in the Noble Tuğra ... Written on 9 July 1036/1626." <sup>270</sup>

Tan, 66 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili H.1067/68-M.1656/57, *Metin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirme*, (Unpublished MA Thesis, Erciyes University, Kayseri, 1998), p.202-203[66:134-364]; Mehmet Özbek, 88 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili H.1089/1090-M.1678/79, *Metin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirme*, (Unpublished MA Thesis, Erciyes University, Kayseri, 1995), p.277 [88:96-233], p.324-325 [88:123-289]; Süleyman Akbey, H.1103/M.1692 *Yıllarında Konya'ya Gönderilen Bazı Fermân ve Berâatlar* 37 Numaralı Konya Şer'iyye Sicili [pp. 250-295], (Unpublished BA Dissertation , Selçuk University, Konya 1998), p. 73-74 [37:270-1, 37:270-2]; Ahmet Ali Öter, 1645 Tarihinde Konya'ya Gönderilen Fermanlar, (Unpublished BA Dissertation , Selçuk University, Konya, 1986), pp. 16-18.

<sup>270</sup> Ahmet Gündüz; 27 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili 1035/36-1625/26, p. 811-12; For a similar expression in another imperial decree dated 1089/1679, regarding *bedel-i nüzul* collection in *Karaman Eyâleti* see, Hacer Erdoğan, 1086-1089 Tarihleri Arasında Konya'ya Gönderilen Bazı Fermanlar, (Unpublished BA Dissertation, Selçuk University, Konya, 1988), p. 27-28; for another imperial decree, dated 1087/1676, regarding *avâriz akçesi* collection in *Karaman eyâleti*, see Doğan Yörük, 1675-1677 Yılları Arasında Konya'ya Gönderilen Bazı Ferman ve Beratlar, (Unpublished BA Dissertation, Selçuk University, Konya 1993), p. 78-79; For another imperial decree, dated 1094/1682, regarding *bedel-i sürsat* collection in *Karaman eyâleti*, see Behiye Türksever; 27 Nolu [1093/1682 Tarihli] Konya Şer'iyye Sicili [pp. 1-41], (Unpublished BA Dissertation, Selçuk University, Konya 1998), p.15 [27:10-3]; For another imperial decree, dated 1127/1715, regarding *avâriz akçesi* collection in *Konya livası*, see Zeki Dinç, 45 Numaralı Konya

This entry shows that the collector was appointed centrally, in Istanbul, to serve for *bedel-i nüzul* collection in all the *kazas* within the *liva* of Niğde. The *liva* was the standard collection unit, with collectors usually appointed to most, if not all, the *livas* in a province for a given year. The rate per *avârizhâne* is clearly stated to be 600 *akçe*. *Kadis* are instructed to assist the named collector, and to see that no malpractice occurs. Personal information was also given in this decree explaining who the collector was, i.e. Cafer Mustafa, for which year the *avâriz* levy was about to be collected, and the actual rate that was set by the central government. Before setting off from Istanbul Cafer Mustafa was given an official order, *emr*, to prove his status, and a copy of the *avârizhâne* registers for the *liva*, listing all the taxable population liable for *avâriz* levies, to enable him to collect the right amount of money set for each *avârizhâne* in the areas concerned. The available information on *avâriz* and *nüzul* collectors in both *avâriz defters* and *şer'iyye sicilleri* used in this study do not indicate how collection appointees were selected.

Archival evidence shows that the *avâriz* and *nüzul* collection was made in the following stages:

1. The selection of the collectors. It was the central government's job to select the potential collector from variety of people. It is not yet possible to determine on what grounds collectors were appointed.
2. An *emr*/order was issued, and sent to the local area where the collection was about to be made.

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*Şer'iyye Sicili*(pp.257-299), (Unpublished BA Dissertation, Selçuk University, Konya 1998), p. 38-39 [45:269-1].



3. A copy of the order was given to the actual collector in order to verify his position as tax collector to the *kadis* of the area and other officials.
4. Then the named collector carried out the collection in accordance with this *emr* and the *avârizhâne* register, in accordance with the actual rate set for each *avârizhâne*.
5. In case of any dispute or complaint regarding the collection, written evidence was needed.
6. Once the collection was made then the collector of *avâriz* and *nüzul* levies reported the money collected to the local *kadı* who issued a certificate stating the amount of money collected and handed it over to the collector.<sup>271</sup>

The following discussion raises further matters of detail relating to these various stages.

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<sup>271</sup> " *Vech-i tahrir-i huruf budur ki bin otuz dört senesine mahsub olmak üzere kaza-i Kayseriden her hânedan dörder yüz akçe bedel-i nüzul cem' ve tahsil için emr-i hümayun ile me'mur olmuş idim zikr olunan kazadan sene-i mezbureye mahsub olmak üzere ikiyüz doksan sekiz hânedan hâne başına dörder yüz akçeden cem'an yüz on dokuz bin akçe cem' ve tahsil olunub meblağ-i mezburu yedimde olan emr-i hümayun mucebince mîri için bi'l-fi'il Kayseriye kadısı olan mevlana Ahmed efendi yedinden bi't-tamam alub kabz itdim yedine temessük verdim ki vakt-i hacetde müracaat oluna tahriren fi şehir-i şa'banu'l-mu'azzam sene 1035(1625).*" Cited in Ahmet Gündüz, 27/3 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili 1035/36-1625/26, p. 865. [27:125-1108].

#### **4.1.2 Timing of assignments of the collectors for the collection of *avâriz* and *nüzul* levies in Karaman**

The dates of *avâriz* and *nüzul* collection assignments were examined to see whether there was a clear pattern of assignment date over time. Of 41 registers for the period 1640 to 1699, appointments fall into different dates and months both in the Islamic and Christian calendars (table 4.1). The proportionate distribution of these 41 appointments among the twelve months, is as follows; 10 (24%) in March, 6 (14.6%) in January, 4 (9.7%) in the months of April, June, September and November, 3 (7.3%) in December, 2 (4.8%) in February and October, 1 (2.4%) in May and July, and none in August. Most assignments, i.e. c. 70%, were therefore made during the winter months from November to April. However, there is no regular information on the timing of actual collection of *avâriz* or *nüzul* taxes, or of their remittance to Istanbul. It is assumed that collection was made at a particular time of year so that tax-payers would know when to expect the demand, but it is difficult to establish a clear pattern from the evidence available here.



**Table 4.1: The Pattern of appointment dates of collectors in Karaman, 1640-1699**

Jan	Feb	March	April	May	June	July	Augst	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
6	2	10	4	1	4	1	---	4	2	4	3
Register	Date of collection assignments in the Islamic calender						Date of collection assignments in the Christian calender <sup>272</sup>				
KK2587	16 Safer 1050						8 June 1640				
MM3845	23 Muharrem 1051						4 May 1641				
MM4950	14 Muharrem 1052						14 April 1642				
KK2604	6 Muharrem 1053						27 March 1643				
MM2808	8 Zilhicce 1054						6 February 1645				
MM3832	10 Cemaziyelevvel 1057						13 June 1647				
MM2787	13 Zilkade 1059						18 November 1649				
MM3835	19 Rebiulevvel 1059						2 April 1649				
MM1980	5 Cemaziyelahir 1060						5 June 1650				
MM3844	8 Safer 1061						30 January 1651				
MM2989	28 Muharrem 1063						30 December 1652				
KK2623	1 Ramazan 1064						5 June 1654				
KK2623	2 Cemaziyelevvel 1065						9 March 1655				
MM3847	7 Cemaziyelahir 1065						13 April 1655				
KK2627	27 Zilkade 1066						16 September 1656				
KK2625	4 Zilhicce 1066						23 September 1656				
MM3810	gurre-i Rebiulahir 1068						14 January 1658				
MM7857	15 Rebiulahir 1069						9 January 1659				
MM3067	3 Şaban 1073						12 March 1663				
MM3354	8 Şaban 1074						6 March 1664				
MM2783	8 Şaban 1074						6 March 1664				
MM3834	6 Ramazan 1075						23 March 1665				
MM3003	10 Ramazan 1076						15 March 1666				
MM3836	14 Ramazan 1077						9 March 1667				
KK2651	27 Şaban 1079						30 January 1669				
KK2653	3 Şaban 1080						27 December 1669				
MM2790	8 Şevval 1081						17 February 1671				
KK2659	9 gurre-i Zilhicce 1083						28 March 1673				
MM2412	24 Zilhicce 1083						12 April 1673				
MM2505	23 Şevval 1084						30 January 1674				
KK2665	13 Zilhicce 1085						9 March 1675				
MM3830	5 Şaban 1086						25 October 1675				
MM3841	19 Ramazan 1087						26 November 1676				
MM3909	15 Cemaziyelevvel 1088						16 July 1677				
MM2805	5 Muharrem 1097						2 December 1685				
MM2789	9 Muharrem 1098						25 November 1686				
MM9480	2 Zilkade 1100						17 September 1689				
MM 2793	25 Muharren 1103						18 October 1691				
MM2471	21 Rebiulevvel 1106						9 November 1694				
MM 3807	18 Safer1107						28 September 1695				
MM3820	16 Receb 1110						17 January 1699				

<sup>272</sup> G.S.P Freeman-Grenville, *The Islamic and Christian Calendars AD 622-2222 (AH 1-1650). A complete guide for converting Christian and Islamic dates and dates of festivals*, (Garnet Publishing, Reading, UK, 1995).

### 4.1.3 Gathering the cash

How was the money - *avâriz akçesi* or *bedel-i nüzul* - actually collected and handed over to the *avariz* collectors? Did *avâriz* collectors collect separately from each *avârizhâne* in a *karye* or *mahalle*, or did they expect to collect the full total for a given village or *mahalle* from a headman or another leading person who had previously collected it from the others? Was one person responsible for collecting the cash ready for the official *avariz* collector?

To answer all these questions from the registers available is very difficult, because the central government's tax records stop at the point when the tax collector is sent out and begin again when he returns, or sends back money or communications. It is possible, however, that the collection process within a village, a *mahalle*, or *kaza* varied according to the nature of the community. That is, whether or not it was religiously homogeneous, whether the people shared a common lifestyle or a way of living etc. A homogenous community would be more likely to be collected as a unit, whereas if it were diverse religiously, ethnically, or in some other way, the different groups might be treated separately. For example, in the very beginning of the sixteenth century, the *avâriz* and *nüzul* collectors caused some inconvenience to the non-Muslim leaders during the collection of these levies in Ottoman Rumelia, which resulted in complaints to the central government. In response to this, therefore, an imperial decree, dated 1501, was sent both to the *sancak beyi* of Avlonya and the *kadı* of Berat ordering them that it was the *kethüda's* (steward, agent) duty to assist the collectors. Collectors involved in certain types of levies i.e. *avâriz*, *nüzul* and *cizye* should work in association with the *kethüda*. According to this particular imperial order he, not the religious



leaders, was the person to deal with any inquiry regarding the collection of these levies in the areas concerned.

"Avlonya sancağı beyine ve [Berat]\* kadısına hüküm yazıla ki, El-haletü hâzihî şöyle istimâ' olundu ki avâriz gelicek veyâhûd harâccı veyâhûd gayri hizmet olıcak papasları sorup envâ' te'addîler idermiş, bâ-vücûd ki ol hizmet kethudâların imiş. Eyle olsa buyurdum ki, ol bâbda kadîmden kanûn ve ka'ide nice ise, eyle idüp olıgelen kanûna muhâlif bunlara te'âddî itdürmeyesiz ve incitdürmeyesiz, bunlar kendü harâcların virdüklerinden sonra kanûna muhâlif sordurmayasız ve ba'de'n-nazar bu hükm-i şerîfî ellerinde ibka idesiz, şöyle bilesiz. Tahîren fi evâil-i Zilhicce sene sitte ve tis'a-mie. [906/1501]" <sup>273</sup>

From this it appears that, from the earliest period of the Ottoman *avâriz* system, the government sought to have someone in each village, or *mahalle*, responsible for assisting the tax collector when required. In the seventeenth century, it is quite possible that one person from each *avârizhâne* unit in the area was kept responsible for the collection of *avâriz* by the *kethüda*. Having said that, however, the entries regarding complaints and corruption in the *avâriz* system in *Kayseri* and *Konya sicils* suggest that the villagers acted as a group in relation to the number of *avârizhânes* assessed for the entire village, and that therefore there may also have been some community responsibility involved in raising and handing over the *avâriz* money. One example states: "we demand *avâriz* taxes which he refuses to pay [...]". The complainants here are asking the *kadı* to help them get the people to pay their shares, who had refused to do so.<sup>274</sup> It is not clear from the documents used so far who was included in such a grouping of people locally responsible for pre-collection of *avâriz* taxes. It may have consisted of the elders

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<sup>273</sup> Cited in İlhan Şahin- Emecen Feridun, *Osmanlılarda Divân-Bürokrasi-Ahkâm: II. Bâyezid Dönemine Ait 906/1501 Tarihli Ahkâm Defteri*, (Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, İstanbul, 1994), p. 63. \*Text says Belgrad but this must be an error for Berat a town in Avlonya. I am grateful to Rhoads Murphey of Birmingham University for bringing this detail to my attention.

<sup>274</sup> See Chapter 5, pp. 254-265.

in a *mahalle* or *karye*/village, the *kethüda*, the *kadı* or his deputy (*naib*), as the actual collector etc. Collection would not necessarily have been from the head of a *gerçekhâne*, or from those grouped in a simple *avârizhâne*, but would most likely to have been undertaken by a person or persons acting as representative(s) of the group of *avârizhânes* in that particular *mahalle* or village.

Information in an imperial order of 1640 regarding an *avârizhâne* survey in Menteşe and *Suğla livasi* in western Anatolia, sheds more light on the procedure for carrying out a new *avâriz* survey, suggesting that the surveyor was instructed to work closely with local people to gain the most accurate information possible.<sup>275</sup>

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<sup>275</sup> KK2576 *Maliye Ahkam Defteri* (1043-49/1633-40), pp. 47-49. For the whole text see appendix 1; for similar expressions regarding the *avâriz* and *nüzul* collection within the *Karaman vilâyeti* see Ali Özçelik, "1079/1668-69, 1085/1674-75 Yılları Arasında olağanüstü Vergilerle ilgili olarak Konya'ya Gönderilen Bazı Hükümler." *Paper presented to institute of social science at Selçuk University* (Konya 1991), p.16-17; For a similar expression in another imperial decree, dated 1089/1679, regarding *bedel-i nüzul* collection in *Karaman eyâleti* see, Hacer Erdoğan, *1086-1089 Tarihleri Arasında Konya'ya Gönderilen Bazı Fermanlar*, (Unpublished BA Dissertation, Selçuk University, Konya, 1988), p. 27-28; for another imperial decree dated 1087/1676 regarding *avâriz akçesi* collection in *Karaman eyâleti*, see Doğan Yörük, *1675-1677 Yılları Arasında Konya'ya Gönderilen Bazı Ferman ve Beratlar*, p. 78-79; for another imperial decree, dated 1094/1682, regarding *bedel-i sürsat* collection in *Karaman eyâleti* see, Behiye Türksever; *27 Nolu [1093/1682 Tarihli] Konya Şer'iyye Sicili [pp. 1-41]*, (Unpublished BA Dissertation, Selçuk University, Konya 1998), p.15 [27:10-3]; for another imperial decree, dated 1127/1715, regarding *avâriz akçesi* collection in *Konya livası*, see Zeki Dinç, *45 Numaralı Konya Şer'iyye Sicili (pp.257-299)*, (Unpublished BA Dissertation, Selçuk University, Konya 1998), p. 38-39 [45:269-1]. See Naile Demir, *70/12 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili Metin Transkripsiyonu (1069/1658)*, (Unpublished BA Dissertation, Erciyes University, Kayseri 1999), pp.24-25, 27-28. [70:180-405, 70:181-408]; Ahmet Gündüz; *27 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili 1035/36-1625/26*, p. 811-12; Ahmet Ali Oter, *1645 Tarihinde Konya'ya Gönderilen Fermanlar*, (Unpublished BA Dissertation, Selçuk University, Konya, 1986), pp.16-18; Mehmet Ali Kalipçioğlu; *65 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili 1067/68-1656/58*, p.297-298. [65:91-234], for similar expressions in an imperial decree regarding *avâriz akçesi* collection in *Karaman eyâleti* see p. 317-318 [65:100-247], for another imperial decree regarding *avâriz akçesi* and *nüzul bedeli* collection in *Kayseri livası* see also Murat Tan, *66 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili H.1067/68-M.1656/57, Metin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirme*, p.202-203 [66:134-364]; Ayşe Türkmen, *96 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili H.1099/1100-M.1687/89, Metin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirme*, (Unpublished MA Thesis, Erciyes University, Kayseri, 1998), p.69-70 [96:13-38, 96:13-39], p.147,148 and 149 [96:68-189, 96:69-190, 96:71-192]; Mehmet Özbek, *88 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili H.1089/1090-M.1678/79, Metin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirme*, p.277 [88:96-233], p.324-325 [88:123-289].



#### 4.1.4 The proportional distribution of *avâriz* levies among the *gerçekhânes*

If a set number of *gerçekhâne* comprised one *avârizhâne*, who decided how the *avâriz* was to be divided proportionally amongst the *gerçekhânes* within any given *avârizhâne*? Was it a flat rate for each *gerçekhâne*? What happened if some real *hânes* were officially classed as poorer or wealthier than others in the same *avârizhâne*? Who sorted out arguments - the people in that group of real *hânes* themselves, or a representative of the *kadı*?

Inalcik has shown how, in the early eighteenth century it was the *kadı*'s responsibility to prepare a *tevzi defteri*, or register of distribution assigning the amount each village and town district had to contribute toward the sum demanded by the government. Once a separate *tevzi defteri* was prepared it was used for different purposes: the *avâriz* levies, the *imdad-i seferiye* (urgent war contribution), and the *imdad-i hazariye* (emergency peacetime contributions).<sup>276</sup>

According to Inalcik the *tevzi defters* came into use for the first time in the early eighteenth century. On the basis of this register, the taxes were then collected by the tax collector, *mübaşir*, sent from Istanbul by the central government.<sup>277</sup>

If the *tevzi defterleri* came into use for the first time in the eighteenth century, then the question to be answered here is how did the *avâriz* and *nüzul* system function before the *tevzi defterleri* came into practice? From archival documents we know that during the course of an *avârizhâne* survey in the seventeenth century the socio-economic levels of the people were determined by the survey

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<sup>276</sup> Inalcik, "Military and Fiscal Transformation", pp. 335-337. On the nature and development of the *imdad-i seferiye* and the *imdad-i hazariye* see especially, pp. 323-327.

<sup>277</sup> Inalcik, "Military and Fiscal Transformation", p. 316-317. See also Uluçay, 18. ve 19. Yüzyıllarda, pp.38-52.

commissions and their financial status was made clear on the register by putting some remarks against their name i.e. for people of low income the *avariz* terms such as an *edna*, *evsat*/middle or *âla*/rich were used. Those of *edna* paid half as much as those of middling income, *evsat*, who paid half as much as the richest, *âla*. This terminology in the registers indicates the ability of each individual to pay certain types of *avâriz* levies.

Inalcik's study shows that during the eighteenth century the amount of *avâriz*-related taxes to be collected in a given province, was discussed by provincial councils at *eyâlet* and *liva* level, and apportioned approximately by them throughout the *kazas*. This apportionment was made in accordance with the full consent of the leading local figures involved, that is *a'yan* and *eşraf*.<sup>278</sup> It appears from this that the *mufassal avâriz* surveys were no longer conducted in the eighteenth century. The official who was responsible for the collection of the sum established by the council would send a *mübaşir* to each *kaza* with a memorandum indicating the sum apportioned to that *kaza*. The memorandum was directed to the local *kadı*. It was then the *kadı's* responsibility to convene a council of the village elders to make the necessary arrangement. This council had to assist the *mübaşir* and the *kadı* in their task of apportioning the correct amount requested by the state among the people, according to their means.<sup>279</sup> This, in fact, cannot be any sudden innovation, as a new development in the *avâriz* system. In the light of archival evidence we could assume that for the seventeenth century there could be very similar implementations with that of the eighteenth century manner of apportioning the *avâriz* levy on *avârizhâne* units though it may not be

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<sup>278</sup> Inalcik, "Military and Fiscal Transformation", p. 335-336.



exactly the same format. It may be the case that by the end of the seventeenth century the *avârizhâne* system, established since the mid-century *mufasssal* surveys, was seen to be working sufficiently well for the central government to adopt the system of simply allocating a tax demand on a provincial level and leaving the details of *liva*, *kaza* and *avârizhâne* apportionment to be decided at the appropriate local level. In other words, the government may no longer have specified how much each *avârizhâne* should pay, but only the total amount that it expected to receive. It may also be the case for the seventeenth century, as Inalcik describes for the eighteenth, that once the *avâriz* rates were set by the central government, it was up to the people and their leaders, or local elders in association with the *kadis* to decide how these rates were apportioned, whether equally or not. The local *kadı* was knowledgeable on the individuals' economic welfare and therefore how much tax burden they could bear; the central government had to take into consideration whatever the *kadı's* recommendation might be, in relation to the *avâriz* taxes upon the *reaya*. Since the number of *avârizhâne* in each *kaza* was known by both the central government and the local *kadı*, the latter would have met in advance with the local leading men or elders from each *mahalle* or village, in order to be able to apportion a fixed sum to each *gerçekhâne* within an *avârizhâne* unit for the year in question. If there was dramatic change in the economic welfare of a group of people then amendments ought to have been made prior to the actual collection, by obtaining an imperial decree from the central government.<sup>280</sup>

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<sup>279</sup> Ibid. p. 336.

<sup>280</sup> For certain types of amendments made for *avârizhâne* assesment see Chapter 5.

As pointed out earlier, it was the *kadı's* responsibility after an *avârizhâne* survey was carried out in an area, to enter the number of *avârizhânes* in the *sicils* and if necessary draw up a list of those liable for taxation by registering them in *avârizhâne* units consisting of seven, eight, nine, ten, twelve, fourteen or fifteen *gerçekhâne* (households-families),<sup>281</sup> depending on the wealth of the people involved. They then had to inform the government about any changes, if made, in an *avârizhâne* unit, for final approval. From the available archival documents, as well as existing studies, we can see that this long-standing tradition was in use.

## 4.2 Identity of Collectors

The registers that have been studied name 58 separate individuals as collectors of *avâriz/nüzul* levies during this period. Their professional status is also frequently given. This information is sufficient to enable us to test whether the theories of Rifaat Abou-el-Haj and Metin Kunt on the gradual replacement during the seventeenth century of military personnel by palace-trained and household retainers at the higher levels of Ottoman provincial administration also holds good for lower level functionaries such as tax collectors. This chapter examines the available information to see what, if any, pattern emerges from it. We will first review briefly the findings of Abou-El-Haj and Kunt. Kunt's findings show that patronage relations and household affiliations became dominant factors in the appointment of more central government officials to high provincial office in the period up to the mid-seventeenth century. For example, by the 1630s, 10 out of 17 men were appointed by the central government as *sancak beyi* directly from

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<sup>281</sup> On this see Chapter 2, pp. 136-141. Cf. also Inalcik, "Military and Fiscal Transformation",



*ümera* households (15.9 percent of all new appointments); 8 out of 17 (almost half) were not blood relatives but *ümera*-household officers. This shows that the service in private households came to be considered a regular alternative to the service in the sultan's household, as a preparation for a further career.<sup>282</sup> Abou-El-Haj, in his study of appointments to high office in the central government in Istanbul and to provincial governorships, argues that by the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century almost half of all these appointments were of men who had been raised or trained in, or were in some way attached to, the households of *vezirs* or *paşas*. Again, these were gradually replacing men trained in the palace or the military section of the sultan's household, which were the traditional sources for the Ottoman ruling class.<sup>283</sup>

Abou-El-Haj's conclusions are based on a study of 262 individuals working in the central administration during the period 1683 and 1703, and of 426 appointments to provincial governorships in the 36 *eyâlets* of the empire during the same twenty years.

Origin	Central administration		Provincial governors	
	Number	% of total	Number	% of total
<i>Vizier</i> household	91	34.7	117	27.4
Palace-trained	69	26.3	164	38.5
Military background	56	21.3	67	15.7
Civilian	33	12.5	16	3.7
<i>Beyzade</i>	13	4.8	62	14.5

Source: Abou-El-Haj, "The Ottoman Vezir and Paşa Households", p. 442

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p. 314.

<sup>282</sup> On this see Metin Kunt, *The Sultan's Servants*, pp. 57-66.

<sup>283</sup> Rifaat. A Abou-El-Haj, "The Ottoman Vezir and Paşa Households, 1683-1703: A preliminary Report", *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, (XCIV, 1974), p. 438, 441.

These figures indicate that the military had been down-graded as a source for staffing posts in the central government and in the provinces taking a little over 20% of posts in the central administration and about 16% of the governorates, while the palace household continued to provide a substantial number of men to staff both levels of government. As far as *Karaman eyâleti* is concerned, 17 governors were assigned to the province from 1683 to 1703. Two out of the 17 were *beyzade*, 6 were from *vezir* households, 7 were palace-trained, and 2 were military. There was no civilian involvement in the governorship of Karaman for this period.<sup>284</sup>

Can similar changes be detected at the lower levels of the Ottoman administration? According to Darling, numbers of *avâriz/nüzul* collectors in the empire generally drawn from the standing cavalry forces increased dramatically in the first two decades of the seventeenth century. For example, the majority of assignments for collection of the *piyade* and *müsellem avâriz* of Anadolu was given to men from the standing cavalry, e.g. 9 out of 14 in 1031/1621-22, and 14 out of 15 in 1032/1622-23.<sup>285</sup> However, she then identifies a noticeable decrease from around 1650, with collection appointments being given to a wider range of men. This appears to mirror the findings of Abou-El-Haj and Kunt. However, the findings in this present study for Karaman do not support this empire-wide general pattern.

The following chronological listing of the named *avâriz* and *nüzul* collectors allows us to see in more detail their background and the scope of their

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<sup>284</sup> Abou-El-Haj, "The Ottoman Vezir and Pasa Households", p. 442.



appointment. In general, most, though not all, were appointed to collect both these levies throughout the whole province of Karaman. The majority were appointed for one year only; their names do not appear again in further registers in Karaman, although they may have been employed as tax-collectors in other provinces. Most appeared in person to collect the levies, although occasionally an officially appointed collector delegated the task to a subordinate, and this was recorded in the *defter*.

The entries in the *avâriz* and *nüzul* registers shown in table 4.2 reveal that the number of military personnel in the *avâriz* collection for the first half of the seventeenth century were in the majority, and that they continued to be so after mid-century. In fact, from the 1660s onwards only one person is named each year as *avâriz/nüzul* collector for the entire province, and in 11 cases out of 18 he is from a military background. Some of the unidentified *avâriz* collectors in table 4.2 may also have been members of military since we cannot determine their background from the brief names given. It should be noted here that several collectors in the later part of the century are identified only as '*ağa*' and it is not always possible to say whether they were also connected to the central administration or were local men in the various *livas*. Unless stated otherwise in the documents, *ağa* is taken here to refer to men of military background.<sup>286</sup> This gives us a total of 34 out of 58 identifiable *avâriz/nüzul* collectors in *Karaman eyâleti* who were from a military background.

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<sup>285</sup> Darling, *Revenue-Raising*, p. 174.

<sup>286</sup> "Yeniçeri ocağı zâditlerine umumiyetle '*ağa*' denilirdi.", Pakalın, *Osmanlı Tarih Terimleri ve Deyimleri Sözlüğü*, vol.1, (Istanbul 1946), p. 21.

Also involved as collectors were senior officials from the general administration i.e. *gümriük emini* (customs controller), *başbakikulu* (tax inspector) etc. other individuals identified by title are more difficult to place, mainly due to uncertainty about usage of term *ağa*. Sometimes *ağa* is used together with some other affiliation i.e. *mirahur-i evvel* (master of the imperial horses) Ibrahim Ağa. In this case, Ibrahim Ağa is classified as a palace functionary rather than military, as is the *kethüdâ* of the *mirahur-i evvel*. Some cases contain the title *solak ağa*. *Solak* in Ottoman usage referred to guards in attendance on the sultan in processions, and hence were palace functionaries, as was the *baltacı* (halberdier attached to the sultan's palace and *kapuci* (gatekeeper). The term *sipahi* is used for cavalymen whether standing (*ulufeli*) or enfeoffed (*tımarlı sipahiyan*) hence military. Similarly, *zaim*, holder of a *zeamet*, is classified as military. The term *çavuş* was used for ranking military officers; *bostancı* (member of the imperial guard) was also military. Among those classed as retainers of prominent men of state are *sadriazam kapu kethüdası* (gatekeeper of the grand *vezir*) and *defterdarpaşa kethüdasi* (steward of the chief Ottoman finance administrator). Taking all this into consideration we can now build the up the following table in order to be able to present these figures in a more intelligible way. Following this we will present the available information on the names and professional status of known *avâriz/nüzul* collectors.



**Table 4.2: Identity of *avârız* and *nüzul* collectors in *Karaman eyâleti*, 1628-1700**

Date	Military Background	Palace functionaries	Retainers of prominent men	Civilian	Religious men	<i>Kadı</i>	Officials working in the administrative apparatus	Status unknown
1628	5	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
1640	2	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
1641	2	2	----	----	----	----	----	3
1642	3	----	----	----	----	----	----	1
1643	2	----	----	----	1	----	----	1
1645	----	1	----	----	----	----	----	----
1648	----	----	----	----	----	1*	----	----
1651	3	----	----	----	----	----	1	----
1652	1	----	----	----	----	----	----	1
1652/3	1	1	----	----	----	----	----	----
1654	----	1	----	----	----	----	----	----
1655	1	----	1	----	----	----	----	1
1658	----	----	----	----	----	----	1	----
1664	2	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
1665	1	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
1666	----	1	----	----	----	----	----	----
1668	----	1	----	----	----	----	----	----
1669	----	----	1	----	----	----	----	----
1670	----	----	1	----	----	----	----	----
1671	1	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
1672	1	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
1673	1	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
1674	----	1	----	----	----	----	----	----
1675	----	1	----	----	----	----	----	----
1676	1	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
1677	1	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
1678	1	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
1687	1	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
1688	1	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
1689	1	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
1691	1	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
1695	1	----	----	----	----	----	----	----
1698	----	----	----	1	----	----	----	----
<b>Total</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>7 = 58</b>

\* Appointed to collect for *kaza* of Konya only. Other collector(s) not given in the register.

As can be seen in the table 4.2, of the 58 collectors found for the period 1628 to 1700, 34 (58.6%) were military men, while 9 (15.5%) were palace functionaries, 3 (5.1%) were retainers of prominent men, 1 (1.7%) was civilian, 1 (1.1%) was a religious man, 1 (1.7%) was a *kadı*, 2 (3.4%) were officials working in the administrative apparatus. Seven (12%) were unknown by their employment at the time when the collection took place. The majority of tax collectors were therefore from a military background.<sup>287</sup> They remained prominent throughout the century.

All the collectors listed in the 1628 (MM3862) register, the first one used here, came from military backgrounds as members of the standing cavalry. The register also lists Cafer Mustafa of the *ebna-i sipahiyan* as a collector of the *bedel-i nüzul* for Konya, Aksaray, Niğde and *Akşehir livası*. An imperial decree in the *sicil* indicates that he was the same person who had performed the *nüzul* collection in *Niğde livası* in 1626: "...*ebna-i sipahiyan*dan iki yüz dokuzuncu (209) bölükte *ulufeciyan-i yemin subaşılardan olan Cafer Mustafa ... kayd fi 9 şehr-i cemaziye'l-evvel sene 1036* (9 July 1626)".<sup>288</sup> Mustafa Abdulkerim of the *ulufeciyan-i yesar* collected the *bedel-i nüzul* for *Beyşehir livası*, Veli Selim Oğuz of *gureba-i yesar* for *Kırşehir livası*, Ali Musa Bâli of *ebna-i sipahiyan* for Kayseri and Ahmed Abdullah Larendi of *ulufeciyan-i yesar* for İçil. The sums earned by the above mentioned tax collectors (*el-mübaşir*) ranged from about 7 to 26 *akçe* per day, depending on the locations, and presumably on the status of the

<sup>287</sup> Cf. Süleyman Demirci, "Collectors of *avâriz* and *nüzul* levies in the Ottoman Empire. A case study of the province of Karaman, 1621-1700", *paper to be delivered at CIEPO-15, International Committee of Pre-Ottoman and Ottoman Studies 15<sup>th</sup> Symposium, 8-12 July 2002, The London School of Economics and Political Science, (London 2002).*

<sup>288</sup> Ahmet Gündüz, *27/3 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili 1035/36-1625/26*, p. 811-812. [27:115-1048].



collectors.<sup>289</sup> In the 1628 register, there is no sign of non-military involvement in the *avâriz* and *nüzul* collection in that year. This military dominance may have been influenced by the disturbances connected with the rebel Abaza Mehmet Paşa, the governor-general of Erzurum, in eastern and central Anadolu.<sup>290</sup>

**Table 4.3: Tax collectors in 1038/1628**

Collection area	Name of collector
The province of Karaman	N/A
Konya	Cafer Mustafa
Niğde	Cafer Mustafa
Beyşehir	Mustafa Abdulkerim
Akşehir	Cafer Mustafa
Kayseri	Ali Musa Bâli
Aksaray	Cafer Mustafa
Kırşehir	Veli Selim Oğuz
İçil	Ahmed Abdullah Larendé

Source:MM3862-1038/1628.

Of the 34 recorded *avâriz* and *nüzul* collectors who were members of the military in the years between 1628 and 1700, five out of the 34 were involved with *avâriz* and *nüzul* collection in 1628, and those remaining were active collectors during the rest of the century. Darling assumes that a dramatic decrease in assignments to standing cavalrymen began around 1650.<sup>291</sup> The information used in this study does not support her assumption that a decline in the use of military personnel occurred from about the

<sup>289</sup>"*Der liva-i Konya, Be-marifet-i Cafer Mustafa bölük 209 an-ebna-i sipahyan zaim-i ulufeciyan-i yemin.*" " *Der Liva-i Niğde, Be-marifet-i musarunileyh*" " *Der Liva-i Akşehir Be-marifet-i musarunileyh.*" *Der Liva-i Beysehri Be-marifet-i Mustafa Abdulkerim an-ulufeciyan-i yesar bölük 38 fî yevm 10 el-mubaşir.*" "*Der liva-i Kirsehi, Be-marifet-i Veli Selim Oguz an- gureba-i yesar bölük 14 fî yevm 11 el-mubaşir.*" "*Der liva-i Aksaray, Be-marifet-i Cafer Ağa el-mubaşir.*" "*Der liva-i Kayseriye, Be-marifet-i Ali Musa Bali an ebna-i Sipahyan bölük 22 fî yevm 26 el-mubaşir.*" "*Der liva-i İçil, Be-marifet-i Ahmet Abdullah Larendé an-ulufeciyan-i yesar bölük 47 fî yevm 7 el-mubaşir.*" MM3862.

<sup>290</sup> The first revolt of Abaza Mehmet Paşa took place between 1623-24, and the second revolt took place in the course of 1627 and 1628.

<sup>291</sup> Darling, *Revenue-Raising*, p. 174.

mid-century. Here the military remained the dominant factor in tax collection job in the province throughout the century.

Unfortunately, no registers have been found for the years 1629 and 1639. We are therefore not in a position to give the name of the collectors and their status on a regular basis for the period before 1640.

#### 4.2.1 Survey of Collectors 1640-1699

This section extracts from each relevant register the information on appointees, their status and their remunerations, and any other significant information to enable us to build up a picture of the type of people appointed as *avâriz/nüzul* collectors once the regular registers begin. The information is presented in tabular form in certain years where this is appropriate. The text includes the rate of pay received by each individual where this is available.

**Table 4.4: Tax collectors in 1050/1640**

Collection area	Name of collector
The province of Karaman	Hasan Ağa
Konya	Hasan Ağa
Niğde	Solak Ali Ağa
Beyşehir	Hasan Ağa
Akşehir	Hasan Ağa
Kayseri	Solak Ali Ağa
Aksaray	Hasan Ağa
Kırşehir	Hasan Ağa
Içil	Hasan Ağa

Source: MM3382-1050/1640, KK2587-1050/1640

The *avâriz* register of 1050/1640 lists Hasan Ağa as a collector of the cash *avâriz* for the *eyâlet* as a whole.<sup>292</sup> In fact, Hasan Ağa collected the cash *avâriz* in the *livas* of

<sup>292</sup> "Der Vilâyet-i Karaman an tahsil-i Hasan Ağa telhis-i ser-bevveban-i hazreti sadr-ı azam..." MM3382.



Konya, Aksaray, Akşehir, Beyşehir, Kırşehir and İçil, while Solak Ali Ağa, who was an inhabitant of Kayseri, collected the cash *avâriz* in both Kayseri and *Niğde livası*. Here, therefore, a local person was involved in the collection.<sup>293</sup>

**Table 4.5: Tax collectors in 1051/1641**

Collection area	Name of collector
The province of Karaman	Turalizâde Osman Bey
Konya	Osman Bey (el-mübaşir)
Niğde	Mustafa Çelebi
Beyşehir	Baltaci Mehmed Bey
Akşehir	Mahmud (ulufeciyan-i yemin)
Kayseri	Solak Ali Ağa
Aksaray	Ali Bey
Kırşehir	Ali Bey
İçil	Mustafa Çelebi

Source: MM3845-1051/1641

The *avârizhâne* register dated 1051/1641 tells us that a certain Turalizâde Osman Bey, who was an inhabitant of *Amasya*, was appointed to collect the cash *avâriz* at the *eyâlet* level.<sup>294</sup> The register did not mention Turalizâde Osman Bey's current employment, so it is possible that he was out of office/*mazul* at that time and had been assigned to this large collection post. In contrast to Hasan Ağa in the previous year, it seems that Turalizâde Osman Bey himself did not travel around the province in order to perform the collection, but delegated other people to the *livas*. In *Beyşehir livası* Baltaci Mehmed Bey, the 'man'<sup>295</sup> of Baltaci Mahmud Ağa, was assigned to the *avâriz*

<sup>293</sup> "Der liva-i Kayseriye Solak Bey sakin-i Kayseriye" "Der liva-i Niğde Der uhde-i Ali Ağa Solak eşşehir be-babanzade an-sakinan-i Kayseriye tabii hazret-i Sadriazam ber-muceb-i arz-i hal-i hod ba-ferman-i şerif emr ve defter dade fi 16 safer sene 1050." KK2587; "Der liva-i Kayseriye an tahsil-i solak Ağa el -mezbur." "Der liva-i Niğde an tahsil-i solak Ali Ağa el-şehir be- baba şa'banzade an sakinan-i Kayseriye" MM3382.

<sup>294</sup> "Der Vilâyet-i Karaman Amasya sakinlerinden Turalizade Osman Bey nam-i diğer Taşcizade cem' ider." MM3845.

<sup>295</sup> 'Man' could be explained as the person being a protégé, agent, associate, or simply a follower of a prominent person.

collection. The title of *baltacı* indicates that Mehmed Bey was associated with the palace hence he should be regarded as palace functionary. The *avâriz* collection in *Akşehir livası* was carried out by Mahmud of *ulufeciyan-i yemin* from the *altı bölük* regiments. He was paid 17 *akçe* per day. The *avâriz* collection in *Kayseri livası* was carried out by Solak Ali Ağa (presumably the same person as in 1640) who is identified here as an inhabitant of the village of Gesi in the *kaza/district* of Kayseri at that time. The document did not mention his current employment, so it is again possible that he was at that time out of office/*mazul* or a retired palace functionary of military origin. The document gives the name of a certain Ali Bey for the *avâriz* collection in *Aksaray livası*. It is clear in the text that he was an inhabitant of the *liva*. Nothing is known about his current employment. The *avâriz* of Kırşehir was collected by Ali Bey of the *sipahiyan* from *Bolu livası*. He was paid 30 *akçe* per day. The *avâriz* collection for *Içil livası* was given to Mustafa Çelebi who was a 'man' of Yunus Ağa in Adana.<sup>296</sup> The *avâriz* for *Konya livası* is noted as being collected by Osman Bey (*el-mübaşir*), who is presumably Turalizâde Osman Bey himself. This is the only *liva* in which he personally made the collection.<sup>297</sup>

**Table 4.6: Tax collectors in 1052/1642**

Collection area	Name of collector
The province of Karaman	Veli Ağa
Konya	Veli Ağa
Niğde	Çorbacioğlu Seyyid Mehmed Ağa
Beyşehir	Veli Ağa
Akşehir	Zuema Musa Ağa
Kayseri	Mehmed Bey
Aksaray	Çorbacioğlu Seyyid Mehmed Ağa
Kırşehir	Çorbacioğlu Seyyid Mehmed Ağa
Içil	Çorbacioğlu Seyyid Mehmed Ağa

Source: MM4950-1060/1650

<sup>296</sup> MM3845.



The MM4950 register lists Veli Ağa of Manisa as the cash *avâriz* collector for both Konya and *Beyşehir livası* for the year 1642. *Baltacı* Mahmud Ağa acted as a guarantor on behalf of Veli Ağa. There is no indication in the document whether, despite his title, Veli Ağa was an active military man in Manisa. Here we see for the first time, a potential *avâriz* tax collector producing a guarantor to the central government in order to get *emr ve defter* for the province of Karaman. In the *iltizam* (tax-farming) system, it is not unusual to see such a situation, but as far as our sources are concerned this is the exceptional case, since there is no other example appearing before this register.

*Züema* Musa Ağa, who was a military man and an inhabitant of Kırşehir, collected the cash *avâriz* in the *Akşehir livası* for the year. The *avâriz* of Niğde, Aksaray, Kırşehir and *Içil livası* was collected by Çorbacioğlu Seyyid Mehmed Ağa, an inhabitant of Larende.<sup>298</sup> Nothing is known about Çorbacioglu Seyyid Mehmed Ağa's current employment. The *avâriz* of Kayseri was collected by Mehmed Bey, *serdar-i yeniçeriyân-i dergah-i âli cami*.<sup>299</sup>

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<sup>297</sup> "Der liva-i Konya Der uhde-i Osman Bey el-mubaşir." MM3845.

<sup>298</sup> MM4950.

<sup>299</sup> MM4950.

**Table 4.7: Tax collectors in 1053/1643**

Collection area	Name of collector
The province of Karaman	Boşnak Mehmed Bey
Konya	Mehmed Şaban Yeniçeri
Niğde	Kalenderi Mehmed Bey
Beyşehir	Veli Beyzade Mehmed Bey/Murad Beydin of the <i>ebna-i sipahiyan</i>
Akşehir	Kalenderi Mehmed Bey
Kayseri	Kalenderi Mehmed Bey
Aksaray	Kalenderi Mehmed Bey
Kırşehir	Kalenderi Mehmed Bey
Içil	Kalenderi Mehmed Bey

Source: KK2604-1053/1643

In 1053/1643 the *avâriz* collection in *Karaman eyâleti* was carried out by Boşnak Mehmed Bey, the 'man' of Kalenderi Mehmed Efendi. Although it is not clear from the text what exactly his position was, one could assume that Kalenderi Mehmed Efendi was a leading figure in the order of the *kalenderi* dervishes and, therefore a trustworthy person at that time, so it is perhaps for this reason that someone from among his followers was assigned to this post.<sup>300</sup> In the same register we have some other people whose names were registered in the *defter* for separate *livas* in the province. It is therefore quite likely that these people were acting under Boşnak Mehmed Bey's supervision, although the document does not give clear information to support this. Having said that however, there is not an obvious reason not to do so. The *avâriz* collection in *Konya livası* was given to Mehmed Şaban Yeniçeri of the *ebna-i sipahiyan*. He was paid 39 *akçe* per day.<sup>301</sup> The *avâriz* collection in both Niğde and *Akşehir livası* were carried out by Kalenderi Mehmed Bey himself.<sup>302</sup> Veli Beyzade

<sup>300</sup> KK2604.

<sup>301</sup> KK2604.

<sup>302</sup> "Der liva-i Niğde, Der liva-i Akşehir, Kalenderi Mehmed Efendiye verilub teslimati Konya mahallinde mukayyedir." KK2604.



Mehmed Bey of Doğanhisari town was given permission to collect the *avâriz* in *Beyşehir livası*. However it seems that he did not collect it personally since the document gives Murad Beydin of the *ebna-i sipahiyan* as an acting collector. It is again the case that he himself was not, it seems, the fully responsible person before the central government, and yet he did the job for a payment of 11 *akçe* per day.<sup>303</sup>

It is seen in the *avâriz* registers that sometimes the amount of *avâriz* money was not collected in cash. Instead the *avârizhânes* of a certain province were asked to provide something else for the central government. For example, in MM2808, dated as 1645, every 7 *avârizhânes* in *Karaman eyâleti* provided a *kurekci*/oarsman for the navy during the Crete campaign (1645-1669). *Kapucubaşı* Yaya Süleyman Ağa, presumably a highly qualified person, was assigned to oversee this. The main difference between the ordinary collectors mentioned above, and Yaya Süleyman Ağa, was that he was not paid on a daily basis, but according to the number of *avârizhânes* in the province. It is stated in the text that 15 *akçe* from each *avârizhâne* of the province was to be paid to him, as his salary.<sup>304</sup>

In the *avârizhâne* register MM3832, dated 1058/1648, we have for the first time a *kadı* named Mevlâna Seyyid Ahmed, who was *kadı* of the *kaza* of Konya. He is mentioned in the text as an acting collector for the *kaza*.<sup>305</sup> Darling stated that a number of *temessüks* for *avâriz* payments, found in the *Ali Emiri* collection in the archives, list *kadıs* as the persons responsible for payment, and concluded that

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<sup>303</sup> "Der liva-i beyşehir, Doganhisari kasabasinda sakın Veli Beyzade Mehmed Bey cem' ider kendu yediyle kayd olmuştur fi 6 muharrem sene 1053. Der uhde-i Murad Beydin esşehir an ebna-i sipahiyan bölük 25 fi yevm 11 emin-i kayid şod fi 6 muharrem sene 1053. Amed fi 24 receb sene 1053." KK2604.

<sup>304</sup> MM2808.

"the *avâriz* documents from around the turn of the century show that the *avâriz* was collected by *kadis* and therefore was organized and divided by *kaza*".<sup>306</sup> As far as the archival documents regarding *Karaman eyâleti* are concerned, there is only one single entry out of the 58 which indicates the *kadı* as a collector. While *kadis* were always expected to work closely with the official collectors, they were, from the evidence here, rarely appointed as collectors themselves.

**Table 4.8: Tax collectors in 1060/1651**

Collection area	Name of collector
The province of Karaman	<i>Başbakikulu</i> Abdullah Ağa
Konya	Mustafa Çavuş
Niğde	Celâlizade Yusuf Ahmed Beşe
Beyşehir	Mustafa Çavuş
Akşehir	Mustafa Çavuş
Kayseri	Celâlizade Yusuf Ağa
Aksaray	Mustafa Çavuş
Kırşehir	Mustafa Çavuş
Içil	Mustafa Çavuş

Source: MM2787-1060/1651

In register MM2787 dated 1060/1651 the *avâriz* collection in *Karaman eyâleti* excluding Niğde and *Kayseri livası* was given to *Başbakikulu* Abdullah Ağa.<sup>307</sup> After receiving the authority for the collection of the cash *avâriz* in certain areas, Abdullah Ağa himself did not go to the region, but gave the *emr-u defter* to Süleyman oğlu Mustafa Çavuş, an inhabitant of *Ilgin*, in order to do the job for him.<sup>308</sup> Mustafa was

<sup>305</sup> "*Der liva-i Konya Kaza-i Konya be-marifet-i Mevlana Seyyid Ahmed kadı-i kaza-i mezbure*" MM3832.

<sup>306</sup> Darling, *Revenue-Raising*, p. 165.

<sup>307</sup> "*Der Eyâlet-i Karaman Niğde ve Kayseriye sancaklarından gayrisi başbakikulu Abdullah Ağa'ya verilmiştir.*" MM2787.

<sup>308</sup> "... *tarafından Ilgin sakinlerinden Süleyman oğlu Mustafa Çavuş'a emr ve defteri verilmiştir fi 13 zilkade sene 1059.*" MM2787.



military since the title '*çavuş*' is evidence of this. There is no information in the text on the amount of money paid for this job to either Abdullah Ağa or Süleyman oğlu Mustafa Çavuş. In the same year the *avâriz* of *Niğde livası* was collected by Celâlizade Yusuf Ahmed Beşe, who was an inhabitant of Kayseri, and a retired Janissary. We do not know from the available information how, being a retired soldier in Kayseri, he could manage to get this job. Having said that, however, it is quite possible that some of his old friends in Istanbul might have played an active role in assisting him.<sup>309</sup> The *avâriz* collection for the same year in the *liva* of Kayseri was also carried out by Celâlizade Yusuf Ağa. He may or may not be the same person as Celâlizade Yusuf Ahmed Beşe above. Nothing is known about his current employment or official status. It is possible that Yusuf Ağa might be a retired person from the standing army, although there is no indication apart from the title of '*ağa*' in the text to support this.<sup>310</sup>

**Table 4.9: Tax collectors in 1061/1652**

Collection area	Name of collector
The province of Karaman	Köse Ismail Ağa
Konya	Mustafa
Niğde	Mustafa
Beyşehir	Mustafa
Akşehir	Mustafa
Kayseri	Mustafa
Aksaray	Mustafa
Kırşehir	Mustafa
Içil	Mustafa

Source: MM1980-1061/1652

<sup>309</sup> MM2787.

<sup>310</sup> MM2787.

Entries in register MM1980, dating from 1061/1651-52, shows that the *avâriz* collection in *Karaman eyâleti* was given to Köse Ismail Ağa.<sup>311</sup> Subsequent entries in MM1980 show that *avâriz* collection in the *livas* of Konya, Kayseri, Kirsehir, Niğde, Aksaray, Akşehir, Beyşehir and İçil was actually carried out by Mustafa, the 'man' of Yunus Ağa in Adana.<sup>312</sup> It is possible that the same Mustafa and Yunus Ağa of Adana carried out the *avâriz* collection, both in Niğde and *Içil livası* in 1641.<sup>313</sup> As stated above, Mustafa is the only person mentioned in the text as the *avâriz* collector for all *livas* in the entire *Karaman eyâleti*. We do not know his official status since the text does not give his full name.

**Table 4.10: Tax collectors in 1062/1652-3**

Collection area	Name of collector
The province of Karaman	Birader Ahmed Ağa
Konya	Birader Ahmed Ağa
Niğde	Kapuci Mehmed Çelebi
Beyşehir	Birader Ahmed Ağa
Akşehir	Birader Ahmed Ağa
Kayseri	Birader Ahmed Ağa
Aksaray	Birader Ahmed Ağa
Kırşehir	Birader Ahmed Ağa
Içil	Birader Ahmed Ağa

Source: MM3844-1062/1652-3

<sup>311</sup> "Der eyâlet-i Karaman zaman-i hulul eyledikde cem' olmak üzere emri verilmiştir fi 5 c.ahir sene 1060 be-dest-i Köse Ismail Ağa ser bevvaban-i Hazret-i sadriazam der zaman-i defterdar Ibrahim Paşa." MM1980, p. 41.

<sup>312</sup> "Der liva-i Konya Adana sakinlerinden Yunus Ağa Merkum Mustafasi cem' ider" "Der liva-i Niğde liva-i Konya ile verilmiştir." "Liva-i Beyşehir bu dahi liva-i Konya ile verilmiştir." "Liva-i Akşehir bu dahi liva-i Konya ile verilmiştir." "Liva-i İçil bu dahi liva-i Konya ile verilmiştir." "Liva-i Kayseri bu dahi liva-i Konya ile verilmiştir." "Liva-i Aksaray bu dahi liva-i Konya ile verilmiştir." "Liva-i Kırşehir bu dahi liva-i Konya ile verilmiştir." MM1980, pp. 41-46.

<sup>313</sup> See p. 210 (table. 4.5).



The *avâriz* collection for *Karaman eyâleti* was carried out by a certain Birader Ahmed Ağa for the year 1062/1652-53.<sup>314</sup> His collection area consisted of Konya, Akşehir, Beyşehir, Kırşehir, Aksaray and *Içil livası*,<sup>315</sup> but *Niğde livası* is not included. Nothing is known about Birader Ahmed Ağa's employment. However, one could believe that he was, or used to be a member of the standing cavalry regiment either in Istanbul or in the region. The *avâriz* collection of *Niğde livası* was given to the Kapuci Mehmed Çelebi.<sup>316</sup> Unlike Birader Ahmed Ağa, *Kapuci* Mehmed Çelebi was probably officially holding a 'doorkeeper' position, most likely in Istanbul, before getting this job since the initial title *kapuci* in front of his name, is evidence of this.

The *avârizhâne* register MM2989, dated 1064/1654, lists Mimar Ağa (chief architect) as the only collector. The *emr ve defter* for the *avâriz* collection in *Karaman eyâleti* were given to Mimar Ağa himself, according to the register.<sup>317</sup> Nothing is known about his actual name, except that of Mimar Ağa. He may be of military origin with a strong link with the palace functionaries, hence he could be regarded as a palace functionary rather than military. This is the first instance in these records where a single collector was responsible for *avâriz/nüzul* levies in the province. The case of Yaya Süleyman Ağa in 1645 differs because he was recruiting oarsmen for the navy not cash payment. It also differs from that of 1648 where the only named collector Mevlâna Seyyid Ahmed was appointed to collect from the single *kaza* of Konya only.

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<sup>314</sup> "*Der-liva-i Konya Birader Ahmed Ağa'ya verilub emr ve defteri kendüye verilmiştir fi 8 safer sene 1061.*" MM3844, p. 40.

<sup>315</sup> MM3844, pp. 40-44.

<sup>316</sup> "*Der-liva-i Niğde Kapuci Mehmed Çelebiye verilmiştir fi 8 safer sene 1061.*" MM3844, p. 41.

<sup>317</sup> "*Der Eyâlet-i Karaman emr ve defteri Mi'mar ağa'ya verilmiştir fi 28 M sene 1063.*" Cf. MM2989, pp. 42-46.

**Table 4.11: Tax collectors in 1065/1655**

Collection area	Name of collector
The province of Karaman	Ahmed Ağa
Konya	Ahmed Ağa
Niğde	Ahmed Ağa
Beyşehir	Mehmed Çelebi/Ahmed Ağa
Akşehir	Mustafa Bey
Kayseri	Ahmed Ağa
Aksaray	Ahmed Ağa
Kırşehir	Veled Ağa
Içil	Ahmed Ağa

Source: KK2623-1065/1655

The following year, according to the register KK2623, dated 1065/1655, the cash *avâriz* collection in *Karaman eyâleti* was given to *Defterdar Paşa Kethüdâsi* Ahmed Ağa.<sup>318</sup> Later on for some unknown reason, the *avâriz* collection of *Beyşehir livası* was separated and given to Mehmed Çelebi in 1065/1655, who himself was an inhabitant of Konya at that time. Another entry in the same document shows that the *avâriz* collection in *Beyşehir livası* was then taken away from Mehmed Çelebi and given back to Ahmed Ağa.<sup>319</sup> The *avâriz* collection of *Kırşehir livası* was carried out by Veled Ağa, an inhabitant of Kırşehir.<sup>320</sup> Although the document does not give us a clear indication about Veled Ağa's employment or official status, he may be someone with a military background. The same register shows that Mustafa Bey, an inhabitant of

<sup>318</sup>"*Defterdar Paşa Kethüdâsi Ahmed Ağa'ya eyâletiyle verilmiştir fi 1 Ramazan 1064.*" KK2623.

<sup>319</sup> "*Der liva-i Beyşehri ordıyı hümayun tarafından Konya sakinlerinden Mehmed Çelebi'ye tevcih ve emr-i şerif verilmekle mücebince süret-i defter verile deyu ferman olmuştur fi 2 C.evvel sene 1065 be-iltimas-i Mehmed efendi kadi-i Diyarbekr ve imam - sahib-i devlet. Eski sahibi Ahmed kethüdaya mukarrer olmuştur fi 17 Receb sene 1065.*" KK2623, p. 37.

<sup>320</sup> "*Der liva-i Kırşehri Kırşehri sakinlerinden Veled Ağa'ya ordıyı hümayun tarafından deruhde olunmuştur ba-defter-i muhasebe-i evvel fi 18 Cemaziyevvel sene 1065.*" KK2623, p. 38.



Kayseri, collected *avâriz* in *Akşehir livası*.<sup>321</sup> His official status is not mentioned in the document.

From around 1658, the information on *avâriz* and *nüzul* collectors tends mainly to give only one individual as the main collector, and only a very few others in restricted areas. This may mark the beginning of a transition from an appointment procedure to one of tax-farming, *iltizam*. The personnel details are as follows.

**Table 4.12: Tax collectors in 1068/1658-1111/1700**

Date	Collection area	Name of collector
1658	Entire province	Gümrük emini Siyavuş Ağa
1664		Gümüşi Mehmed Ağa
1665		Bostancılar odabaşisi Mehmed Ağa
1666		Hasodabaşı Ağa
1668		Hasodabaşı Ağa
1669		<i>Kapu Kethüdâsi</i> Ali Ağa
1670		Sadriazam Kapu Kethüdâsi Ali Ağa
1671		Ali Ağa
1672		Abdulmuin Ağa
1673		Mahmud Ağa
1674		Mahmud Ağa (Kethüdâ of the mirahur-i evvel Ibrahim Ağa)
1675		Mirahur-i evvel Ibrahim Ağa
1676		Mustafa Ağa
1677		Mehmed Ağa
1678		Ömer Ağa
1687		Halil Ağa
1688		Sarı Osman Ağa
1689		El-hac Halil Ağa
1691		Mustafa Ağa
1695		Kara Şaban Ağa
1698		El-hac Mehmed Efendi

In the *avârizhane* register for 1070/1660 we have the name of a certain *Gümrük emini* Siyavuş Ağa, as the collector of the *avâriz* and *nüzul* taxes in the province

<sup>321</sup> "Der liva-i Akşehir badehu Kayseriye sakinlerinden Mustafa Bey'e cem' ve tahsili için emr-i şerif verilmiştir f. 10 Cemaziye ahir sene 1065." KK2623, p. 37.

of Karaman for the year 1068/1658.<sup>322</sup> Siyavuş Ağa was working in the administrative apparatus, as '*gümriük emini*' in front of his name is evidence of this.

The *avârizhâne* register of 1073/74-1663/64 lists *Gümüşi* Mehmed Ağa as *avâriz* collector for the *livas* in province of Karaman excluding the *liva* of Beyşehir.<sup>323</sup>

We do not know *Gümüşi* Mehmed Ağa's current employment or official status, since the document does not provide this information. However, it is likely that he could be a man with military background as the title of 'ağa' is indicative of this.

We do not know the actual name of the collector for the *liva* of Beyşehir. Within the register it mentions that he was *subaşı* of a certain Ibrahim Canzade Mehmed Bey.<sup>324</sup> In MM3354 register, dated 1074/75-1665, in which an imperial degree was given to the *Bostancılar odabaşısı* Mehmed Ağa (the person in charge of the imperial guards) in order to collect the *bedel-i nüzul* in the province. From the information given in the text it seems that he, himself, did not perform the job personally, but rather had assigned *Küçük* Hasan Ağa as an acting *bedel-i nüzul* collector for the *livas* in the province of Karaman. He would give the *emr ve defter* to him, providing that *Küçük* Hasan Ağa paid the full amount of money by the 15<sup>th</sup> of the month of Şaban in 1074/1665. The *bedel-i nüzul* collection of the *liva* of Beyşehir for the same year was separated from the main task, and given to

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<sup>322</sup> MM3810, p. 44.

<sup>323</sup> MM3067, p. 17.

<sup>324</sup> MM3067, p. 18.



someone else. The document does not provide the collector's name, their employment, or their official status.<sup>325</sup>

In some cases the *avâriz* and *bedel-i nuzul* collection was carried out by the same person, as is the case in MM3003 register, dated 1081/1671, list Hasodabaşı Ağa as the collector of both the *avâriz* and *bedel-i nüzul* for the province of Karaman for the year 1076/1666.<sup>326</sup> An entry in MM3836 register, dated 1078/1668, indicates that Hasodabaşı Ağa did receive *emr ve defter* for the *avâriz* collection in the *kazas* of the *livas* within the entire province of Karaman.<sup>327</sup> The Hasodabaşı Ağa must be someone among the palace functionaries. The *avârizhâne* register KK2651 register dated 1080/1670 lists *Kapu Kethüdâsi* Ali Ağa as *avâriz* collector for the province of Karaman in 1079/1669.<sup>328</sup>

An entry in KK2653 register, dated 1080/1670,<sup>329</sup> indicates that *Defterdar Paşa Ağalarından* Osman Paşazade Ahmed Bey received the *avâriz* collection certificate for the province of Karaman, for the given year. Later on his collection certificate was taken away from him for some unknown reason, and *Sadriazam Kapu Kethüdâsi* Ali Ağa was assigned to undertake the *avâriz* collection of the province.<sup>330</sup> Ali Ağa, as *sadriazam kapu kethüdâsi*, was a retainer of the grand

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<sup>325</sup> MM3354, p. 15.

<sup>326</sup> "*Der Eyâlet-i Karaman Bedel-i nüzulu avâriziyla maan hasodabasi Ağa hazretlerine verilmiştir fi 10 Ramazan s. 1076*" MM3003, p. 34.

<sup>327</sup> MM3836, p. 37.

<sup>328</sup> KK2651, p. 19.

<sup>329</sup> This *defter* has mistakenly been dated as 1073 in the catalogue. In fact it should be 1080.

<sup>330</sup> "*Der Eyâlet-i Karaman Saadetlu defterdar paşa Ağalarından Osman Paşazade Ahmed Bey'e 5 yük akçe peşin ile emr ve defteri verilmiştir fi 3 şa'ban sene 1080. Badehu mezbur Ahmed Bey ref' olunub sadriazam kapu kethüdasi Ali Ağa'ya deruhde olunub peşini rikab-i*

*vezir*. He may be the same Ali Ağa who collected the *avâriz* in the province of Karaman in 1669.

The register MM2790, dated 1082/1672, lists Ali Ağa from the *liva* of Kayseri as the collector of the *avâriz* for the province of Karaman for the year 1081/1671. The document tells us that Ali Ağa was *Başbakikulu* Hasan Ağa's uncle but it does not tell us about his employment or official status. It is possible that he was a man with military connections since the title of 'ağa'. It also mentions in the text that his collection was guaranteed by a certain Ismail Ağa, an inhabitant of the *liva* of Kayseri. This is the second case where the potential *avâriz* tax collector had produced a guarantor to the central government in order to get *emr ve defter* for the province of Karaman. Although the collector was a close family relative of *Başbakikulu* Hasan Ağa, he still had to prove his ability to meet the central government's requirement by producing a guarantor.<sup>331</sup>

The register MM2412, dated 1083/1673, lists Abdulmuin Ağa as the collector of the *avâriz* for the province of Karaman for the year 1082/1672,<sup>332</sup> stating that he was a member of the standing army (*ulufeli*) in the *liva* of İçil. There is no mention of whether he would collect both *avâriz* and *bedel-i nüzul* for the province. We could assume that his collection would include the *bedel-i nuzul*

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*hümayun hazinesine teslim olunmak üzere emr ve defterleri verilmiştir be dest-i hazret-i defterdar paşa fî 26 serval sene 1080.*" KK2653, p. 47.

<sup>331</sup> "Der Eyâlet-i Karaman Kayseriye sakinlerinden başbakikulu Hasan Ağa'nin emmisi Ali Ağa'ya virilub mezbur Kayseriyeli Ismail Ağa kefaletiyle emr ve defteri verile deyu ferman olmağla mahallinde mukâyeddir Hasan Ağa ser gulam-i baki fî 8 şevval sene 1081." MM2790.

<sup>332</sup> MM2412, p. 39.



since there is no other person specifically mentioned in the text on this tax.<sup>333</sup> The register KK2659 dated 1084/1674 lists Mahmud Ağa, son of Silahdar (member of the sword bearers' regiment) Burunsuz Mustafa Ağa, as the *avâriz* and *bedel-i nüzul* collector for the province of Karaman for the year 1083/1673.<sup>334</sup> The document states that the amount of money collected for this particular year was more than expected. So, the excess in the amount of collected money was given to Silahdar Burunsuz Mustafa Ağa as a gift/*in'am olunmak* by the Sultan.<sup>335</sup> This is a very unusual case. It may have been the case that the previous collections had not met the central government's expectation and therefore Silahdar Ağa was given the money as a reward. The question to be considered here is that, if Mahmud Ağa did collect the *avâriz* and *bedel-i nüzul* for the given year on his own, why was his father the person who was awarded the money from the central government? The only explanation we can suspect, is that he was probably acting under his father's supervision, and was not the person with prime responsibility towards the government.

MM2505 register, dated 1085/1675, lists Mahmud Ağa, *Kethüdâ* of the *mirahur-i evvel* Ibrahim Ağa, as the *avâriz* and *bedel-i nüzul* collector for the province of Karaman, for the year 1084/1674.<sup>336</sup> KK2665 register dated 1086/1676 lists *mirahur-i evvel* Ibrahim Ağa himself as collector of the *avâriz* and *bedel-i nüzul* for the province of Karaman for the year 1085/1675. There is no mention in the

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<sup>333</sup> MM2412, pp. 39-42.

<sup>334</sup> KK2659, p. 38.

<sup>335</sup> KK2659.

<sup>336</sup> MM2505, p. 42.

text whether or not a second person was involved in the actual collection. Thus, it was perhaps Ibrahim Ağa himself who made the collection for the province.<sup>337</sup>

The *avârizhâne* register of MM3830, dated 1091/1680, lists Mustafa Ağa as the *avâriz* and *bedel-i nüzul* collector for the year 1086/1676, in the province of Karaman. It is mentioned in the text that Hamza Ağa, who was a 'man' of *mirahur-i evvel* Ibrahim Ağa, acted as a guarantor on behalf of Mustafa Ağa before the central government. There is no indication of Mustafa Ağa's current employment in the document.<sup>338</sup> His background is assumed to be military. The *avârizhâne* register of MM3841, dated 1088/1678, lists Mehmed Ağa, a 'man' of *Altuniçok* Ali Ağa and settled in Ilgin, as the *avâriz* and *bedel-i nüzul* collector for the province of Karaman, for the year 1087/1677. It is mentioned in the text that a person called Hayrullah Ağa was the guarantor for Mehmed Ağa's collection before the central government. There is no indication concerning either of these men in the document in reference to their current employment, or official status.<sup>339</sup> MM3909 register, dated 1089/1679, lists Ömer Ağa, an inhabitant of Niğde, as the collector for the province of Karaman, for the year 1088/1678. It is clear from the text that Ömer Ağa did not collect *bedel-i nüzul* for the year in question, and that the former *mütesellim*/deputy lieutenant-governor and local collector of taxes and tithes in the province of Saruhan, acted as Ömer Ağa's guarantor. It is not possible for us to identify Ömer Ağa's employment at the given

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<sup>337</sup> KK2665.

<sup>338</sup> MM3830, pp. 40-43.

<sup>339</sup> MM3841, pp. 45-47.



time.<sup>340</sup> Again, it is possible that he was or used to be a military personnel in the region before being assigned to this job.

The MM2805 register lists Halil Ağa as the *avâriz* collector for the province in the year 1097/1687. There is no clear indication in the document on Halil Ağa's employment at the time. *Bezzasitani* Mustafa Ağa, who was a resident of Hocapaşa in Istanbul, acted as a guarantor for him.<sup>341</sup> MM2789 register, dated 1098/1688, lists Sarı Osman Ağa as the *avâriz* and *bedel-i nüzul* collector for the province, in the given year.<sup>342</sup> MM9480 register lists *el-hac* Halil Ağa as the *avâriz* collector for the province in the year 1100/1689.<sup>343</sup> MM2793 register lists Mustafa Ağa as the *avâriz* and *bedel-i nüzul* collector for province in the year 1103/1691. Two individuals, namely Osman Ağa and Hüseyin Ağa, were registered in the document as his guarantors. There is no information concerning the employment of either of them.<sup>344</sup> In MM3807 register, dated 1108/1696, lists Kara Şaban Ağa, an inhabitant of Kayseri, as the *avâriz* and *bedel-i nüzul* collector in the province of Karaman for 1107/1695. Abdülkerim Ağa, treasurer of Köprülüzade Mustafa Paşa, and [illegible] Ağa were his guarantors. There is no indication of Kara Şaban Ağa's employment.<sup>345</sup> MM3820 register, dated

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<sup>340</sup> MM3809, pp. 36-38.

<sup>341</sup> MM2805, pp. 37-40.

<sup>342</sup> MM2789.

<sup>343</sup> MM9480, p. 68.

<sup>344</sup> MM2793, pp. 47-49.

<sup>345</sup> MM3807, pp., 33-34.

1111/1699, lists *el-hac* Mehmed Efendi as the *avâriz* and *bedel-i nüzul* collector in the province of Karaman, for the year 1110/1698.<sup>346</sup>

### 4.3 Conclusion

The systematic examination of the *avâriz* and *nüzul* registers shows that the majority of the 58 named *avâriz* and *bedel-i nüzul* collectors for the province of Karaman between 1628 and 1699 were from a military background. Such men appear to have remained significant in tax collection in the province throughout the century. However, this assumption is depended on our understanding of the title *ağa* as meaning pre-eminently a men of military training. These findings would need to be modified if it is shown that the title *ağa* should be interpreted differently.

The tendency from about 1665 onwards to appoint only one man to collect the levies from the entire province, coupled with the increasing appearances of guarantors for these collectors together suggest a movement towards a system of *iltizam* (tax-farming). However, there are insufficient details in the registers studied so far to enable much to be said about *iltizam* in the *avâriz* system at this stage. It could be a fruitful topic for further research drawing upon material from other provinces.

The present study also shows that there was no non-Muslim involvement recorded in the registers as the collector for the *avâriz* and *nüzul* levies in *Karaman eyâleti* in the seventeenth century, though non-Muslims may have been involved in this job in some other parts of the empire, during the same period. There was, however, a degree of local involvement in *avâriz/nüzul* collection at the official

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<sup>346</sup> MM3820, pp. 29-31.



level. 13 (22.4%) out of the 58 *avâriz* and *nüzul* collectors came from local areas within the province i.e. 1 in 1643, 1648 and 1695, 2 in 1641, 1651 and 1655, 3 in 1642; 4 (6.8%) out of the 58 came from other areas i.e. 1 from Amasya recorded in 1641 and 1 from *liva* of Bolu, 1 in 1642 from Manisa, and 1 from Adana in 1652. The remaining 43 (74.1%) out of the 58 collectors were based in Istanbul. Interestingly enough, of the 13 local collectors, almost all of them (i.e. 11) are recorded for the period leading up to 1655, and only two thereafter, in 1673 and 1695. This may have been determined by the introduction of an *iltizam* system.

As far as we can tell from the available information in the archival documents used here, the daily payment (*mübaşiriye*) to collectors during the course of the collection process varied significantly in the first half of the seventeenth century. The *mübaşiriye* for *avâriz akçesi* was paid at 17 *akçe* in the *liva* of Akşehir in the year 1641, while it was paid at 30 in the *liva* of Kırşehir. It varied more widely in the following year, 1642: 39 *akçe* in Konya, and 11 *akçe* in Beyşehir. Significant variations were also seen for *bedel-i nüzul*. The *mübaşiriye*, as recorded in the registers of 1628 at the *liva* level are as follows; 7 *akçe* in İçil, 10 *akçe* in Beyşehir, 11 *akçe* in Kırşehir, and 26 *akçe* in Kayseri. In contrast to *avâriz akçesi*, the *mübaşiriye* was comparatively stable in 1641; 10 *akçe* in the *livas* of Konya, Beyşehir, Akşehir, Kayseri, Aksaray, Kırşehir, İçil, and 19 *akçe* in Niğde. Once the *avâriz* and *nüzul* system was firmly established by the middle of the seventeenth century, the *mübaşiriye* for the *avâriz akçesi* stabilised at 50 *akçe* for *avâriz* from c.1650s (table 3.1) and 30 *akçe* for *bedel-i nüzul* from c. 1659 (table 3.3) in *Karaman eyâleti*. We have already pointed out in chapter 3 that the rate for the *nüzul* levy was higher than that of *avâriz* after c. 1650s. But, when it comes to

the *mübaşiriye* it is the other way around, and the *mübaşiriye* for *avâriz* was from 1650s onwards significantly higher than for *nüzul*, e.g. 50 *akçe* against 30 *akçe*. We should also note here that the most significant variations in the *mübaşiriye* are to be seen in the first half of the century. This was probably due to the collectors' own status. It is most likely that the central government had taken into account the collectors' military ranks, before making any attempt to fix daily payment of the individuals. Therefore, the higher their status (i.e. *Yeniçeri*) then the higher the rate they received.



## Chapter 5

### Complaints about *avâriz* assessment and payment in the province of Karaman: 1618-1700

"With justice and moderation the people will produce more, tax revenues will increase, and the state will grow rich and powerful. Justice is the foundation of a powerful state" Hüsrev I (531-79 AD)

"To control the state requires a large army. To support the troops requires great wealth. To obtain this wealth the people must be prosperous. For the people to be prosperous the law must be just. If any one of these is neglected the state will collapse." Kutadgu Bilig (1069 AD)<sup>347</sup>

It is believed that in the Near Eastern concept of state, justice means the protection of subjects against any kind of abuse, oppression from the representatives of state authority and in particular, against illegal taxation and excessive tax demands. To maintain both justice and the good of the people and to avoid any wrong doing was the sovereign's primary duty. Therefore, in accordance with the Islamic tradition, the Ottoman sultans considered their subjects, Muslims and non-Muslims alike, as *reaya*, flock - to be guarded and protected - and they believed God had given them the *reaya* in trust.<sup>348</sup> The provision of justice, protecting the weak from the strong, was a basic precept of Ottoman rule. The sultans were not only regularly available to receive petitions of complaint from subjects of no

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<sup>347</sup> Cited in Halil Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire*, p. 65-66; cf. also "Turkish and Iranian Political Theories and Traditions in *Kutadgu Bilig*" in H. Inalcik, *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire: Essays on Economy and Society*, (Indiana University Turkish Studies and Turkish Ministry of Culture Joint Series, Vol. 9, Bloomington, USA, 1993), pp. 1-18.

<sup>348</sup> H. Inalcik, *The Ottoman Empire*, pp. 65-69; cf. also "State and Ideology under Sultan Süleyman I" in his, *The Middle East and the Balkans*, pp. 70-94.

matter what ethnic origin, rank or of importance, they were, as it was also in the best interest of the government to see that grievances were known to be dealt with promptly and fairly.

Not surprisingly, one of the most common cause of complaints by the *reaya* concerned the level of tax demands and the behaviour of the tax collectors and the associated local officials. Although the registers used for the present study do not provide information on difficulties in the system, evidence of complaints and alleged corruption within the *avâriz* system can be found in the *sicils*. These detailed records of Ottoman *şer'ia*-law courts contain information on imperial administration, on affairs in towns and villages, and on taxes and taxation procedures, as well as on various other matters including loans, sales and price regulations, the *timar* system, theft, murder and other crimes, and agreements between guilds. While some previous research has been done in the *sicils* on prices, crimes,<sup>349</sup> socio-economic life in a specified region,<sup>350</sup> the relationship between the central government and the provinces,<sup>351</sup> on the importance of the *sicils* for the Ottoman interpretations of Islamic law,<sup>352</sup> and on the structure of the

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<sup>349</sup> Çağatay Uluçay, *XVII. Asırda Saruhan'da Eşkiyalık ve Halk Hareketleri*, (Istanbul 1945); 18 ve 19. Yüzyıllarda Saruhan'da Eşkiyalık ve Halk Hareketleri, (Istanbul 1955).

<sup>350</sup> Halil Inalcik "Osmanlı İdari, Sosyal ve Ekonomik Tarihiyle İlgili Belgeler: Bursa Kadı Sicillerinden Seçmeler," I: *Belgeler 10*, No: 14 (1980-81): 1-91; İzzet Sak; *Şer'îye sicillerine göre sosyal ve ekonomik hayatta köleler (17.ve 18.yüzyıllar)*, (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Selçuk Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Konya, 1992).

<sup>351</sup> Bayram Ürekli, *Konya'nın Merkezi idare ile ilişkileri (1650-1675)*. (Unpublished Ph.D.Thesis. İstanbul Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, İstanbul, 1989); Zekeriya Bülbul, *Konya'nın Merkezi Yönetim ile ilişkileri (1685-1700)*, (Unpublished Ph.D.Thesis. Selçuk Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Konya, 1988).

<sup>352</sup> A. Nası Aslan, *Kayseri Şer'îyye sicillerindeki Hicri 1081, 1084 ve 1087 Tarihli Defterler ve İslam Hukuku Açısından Tahlili*, (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Erciyes Üniversitesi, Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü, Kayseri. 1995). See also Jennings's works.



Ottoman legal process,<sup>353</sup> these records have never been utilised for research as yet, on complaints and corruption in the *avâriz* system.

In the sixteenth century, petitions on taxes or related financial matters were ordinarily handled by the *baş defterdar* and his staff. Response was normally made by means of an order to the local *kadı* ordering him to investigate the problem and take appropriate steps to rectify it. Such responses were recorded initially in the *mühimme defterleri*, but by the late seventeenth century they were kept in a separate series of *maliye ahkam defterleri* (registers of finance department orders), which always contained a summary of the original petition.<sup>354</sup>

The fact that there is a very large number of *mühimme* and *maliye ahkam* registers which would be necessary to consult in order to identify all *avâriz*-related orders for the period under study, together with the fact that these registers are organised chronologically rather than by region or topic, has made it impossible to trawl through them systematically for this study within the time span available.<sup>355</sup>

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<sup>353</sup> Haim Gerber; *State, Society, and Law in Islam: Ottoman Law in Comparative Perspective*, State (University of New York Press, Albany, USA, 1994); "Sharia, Kanun and Custom in the Ottoman Law: The Court Records of 17<sup>th</sup> - Century Bursa", *IJTS*, vo.2, no.1 (1981): 131-147.

<sup>354</sup> Darling, *Revenue-Raising*, p. 249. On *maliye ahkam defterleri* see Nahide Şimşir, "Ahkam Defterlerinin Tarihi Kiymeti ve 107 No'lu Anadolu Ahkam Defterlerindeki İzmir ile ilgili Hükümler", *TID*, 9 (1994): 357-390; For the *Ahkam* registers relating to the province of Karaman see Said Öztürk, "Kayseri ve Çevresinin Sosyo-ekonomik Tarihi için önemli bir Kaynak: Karaman Ahkam Defterleri" a paper delivered at *Onbirinci Kayseri Kültür ve Sanat Haftası III. Kayseri ve Yöresi Tarih Sempozyumu, Kayseri, 06-07 Nisan 2000*. I would like to take this opportunity to thank Said Öztürk of *Osmanlı Araştırmaları Vakfı* in Sultan Ahmet/Istanbul for providing me with a copy of his paper prior to publication. In this regard see also Halil Sahillioğlu, "Ahkam Defteri" in *DVIA*, vol.1, p. 551. By the late seventeenth century there also existed a series of registers called *şikayet defterleri*, books of complaints/complaint registers, containing only the responses to complaint petitions. On this see Inalcik, "Şikayet hakkı: Arz-i hal ve arz-i mahzarlar", *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, 7-8(1988): 33-54; Haim Gerber, "The book of complaints and centre-periphery relation in the Ottoman empire", in *State, Society, and Law in Islam - Ottoman Law in Comparative Perspective*, pp. 154-173.

<sup>355</sup> Uriel Heyd; *Ottoman Documents on Palestine, 1552-1615: A Study of the Firman according to the Mühimme Defteri*, (Oxford, 1960): 66, 71, 72, 101/4, 118/1, 122-123, 125/4, 127, 167, 168. Particularly relevant entry on page 122-23. According to *Mühimme Defteri* No.3 dating from 1558

However, by using examples of the copies of these orders entered in the *şer'iyye sicilleri* of Konya and Kayseri for the period 1611 to 1700, we will be able to see how *avâriz*-related complaints were dealt with in the province of Karaman, how the common people were able to raise problems and seek justice, and to what degree they were aware of their rights in examining the registers themselves. Although a more thorough study remains to be done, we will at least be able to see how the central administration and the local judicial system dealt with such complaints, and to comment on the nature of the relationship between the centre and the periphery.

There is no comparable sequence of *sicils* available for this period for other regions of the Karaman province. Some *sicils* are either non-existent or not located, and some contain no reference to *avâriz* disputes.<sup>356</sup> The evidence taken from the *sicils* consulted, is therefore not comprehensive. While it shows relative absence of complaints, it shows more importantly how the complaint system worked and how, generally speaking, the government responded positively to the complaint- which portrays a good working relationship between the centre and periphery.

### 5.1 Complaints procedure and the role of the *kadı*

The *kadı*, whose office maintained these *sicils*, was the major link connecting the central government with the mass of its citizens. All major imperial orders on any

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to 1560 there are 1665 entries for the years in question. Having said that, however, only 19 entries out of 1665 are regarding *avâriz* within the empire.

<sup>356</sup> For example see Ayhan Afşin Ünal, 92 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iye Sicili H.1095 (M.1684), (Unpublished MA Thesis. Erciyes University, Kayseri, 1995).



matter sent out to the provincial districts were addressed to the *kadı*, including those intended for local military-administrative authorities. All were copied into these registers.

Any matter requiring official resolution, registration, verification, or adjudication was potentially the domain of the *kadı*. In the case of any dispute between the tax-paying population and government officials, or between groups of local people, it was the *kadı*'s duty to resolve the problem, and then to record the case into the *sicils*. The *sicils* therefore give first hand information on various problems, and contain highly valuable information on many aspects of daily life in Ottoman society, in particular the socio-economic conditions.<sup>357</sup>

Several *avâriz*-related petitions recorded in the *sicils* of Kayseri came from the tax-paying population of different villages and urban *mahalles*. In many cases it is clear that the previous entries in the *sicils* were examined by the *kadı* in order to find out the accuracy of the present complaints, and to make sure of the testimony of the current practices, and that their place within the system was correct in relation to such complaints. The *kadı* would have recorded the details of the

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<sup>357</sup> On the *kadı* and the *şer'iyye sicilleri* see İlber Ortaylı, "On the role of Ottoman Kadi in provincial administration", *Turkish Public Administration Annual*, 3 (1976): 1-21[Turkish version: "Osmanlı Kadısının Taşra Yönetimindeki Rolü Üzerine", *Amme İdaresi Dergisi*, 9/1 (1976), 95-107.]; Amy Singer, "Tapu Tahrir Defterleri and kadi sicilleri: a happy marriage of sources", *Tarih*, 1(1990): 95-125; Y J Seng, "The Ser'iyye Sicilleri of the Istanbul Müftülüğü as a source for the study of everyday life", *TSAB*, 15 (1991): 307-25; Türk Dünyası Vakfı publication, *Şer'iyye Sicilleri*, (vol 2, Istanbul 1988); Reşat Kasaba, "Ottoman Court Records as a Source for Late Ottoman Social History", in *IIIrd Congress on the Social and Economic History of Turkey, Princeton University, 24-26 August 1983*, eds, Heath W, Lowry and Ralph S, Hattox, İstanbul-Washington-Paris, 1990:115 -22; Suraiya Faroqhi, *Approaching Ottoman History: An introduction to the sources*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1999): 55-57. Particularly relevant for this study are the articles by Ronald Jennings, "Loans and Credit in early 17th Century Ottoman Judicial Records: the Sharia Court Records of Anatolian Kayseri", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the orient*, 16 (1973): 168-216; "Limitation of the Judicial powers of the Kadi in 17<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman Kayseri", *Studia Islamica*, 1 (1979): 151-184; "Kadi court and legal procedure in 17<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman Kayseri", *Studia Islamica*, XLVIII (1978): 133-172.

current *avâriz* survey registers for the region into the *sicils*, according to the *kanun*. It was for this reason that the *sicils* were always considered as one of the main sources for settling legal disputes in addition to the provincial *kanunname*<sup>358</sup> in use at the time.

In his role as the local supervisor of the collection of *avâriz* taxes, it was the *kadı*'s job to ensure that his copy of the *avâriz* register was kept up to date and amended where necessary, according to the decisions recorded in previous *sicils*. The copies of the *avâriz* registers and the decisions recorded in previous *sicils* were regularly consulted by the *kadı* as a main source of precedent and analogy for settling current legal disputes.<sup>359</sup> In that sense the registers constituted a collection of case law which could be referred to in addition to the statute law of the provincial *kanunname*. Many cases from the *sicils* of Kayseri used for this study show either the *kadı* or the people about whom such complaints were made, referring to previous registers in order to be able to establish the facts of the dispute.

Most local complaints were made to the *kadı* and settled by him as indicated above. In some instances, however, a petition for redress of grievances would be

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<sup>358</sup> "*Kanunname*: in Ottoman usage the term generally referred to a decree of the Sultan containing legal clauses on a particular topic. In the 15<sup>th</sup> century the term *yasakname* had the same meaning, and during the Arab caliphate *kavain* had the sense of "a code of laws". In the Ottoman Empire *Kanunname* was occasionally extended to refer to regulations which viziers and pashas had enacted laws which a competent authority had formulated. However, a *kanunname* was like any normal *kanun* in that only a Sultan's decree could give its official authority. As it is known, the Ottoman *kanunnames* are the collection of statutes (*kanuns*) which were originally in most cases short summaries of firmans and other decrees of the Sultan, each dealing with a particular case, the details referring to individual persons, places, and events having been eliminated. The compilation of general *kanunnames*, i.e those valid for the whole Empire, was usually within the authority of the *Nisanci*." Quoted from Inalcik, "Kanunname" in *El*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 562-66.

<sup>359</sup> Darling, *Revenue-Raising*, p.249.



sent to the imperial *divan* in Istanbul, either directly from the complainants or via the *kadı*. In certain cases, the person demanding redress remained anonymous, and avoided appearing in person, making use of the *kadı* to present their complaints. In other cases, the petitioners perhaps did not regard it as sufficient enough to ask the *kadı* to forward their petitions or complaints, so they, themselves personally went directly to Istanbul.<sup>360</sup>

Upon arrival of such complaints, the imperial *divan* sent out orders to *kadis* regarding those petitions it deemed worthy of consideration. An order would be sent requiring that a certain case be heard by the court, in accordance with the *şer'*,<sup>361</sup> if it had not already been heard, or that a matter could be re-opened or re-studied. However, it was never ordered that a specific decision would be taken, since the imperial *divan* could not easily investigate all sides to all the petitions it received from all over the Empire. This was as a result of the Ottoman central government's policy of judicial non-interference. For this reason, legal procedures were left completely in the hands of the *kadis* in the districts.<sup>362</sup>

The disputes brought before the *kadı* were of four main types: (1) complaints about the number of *avârizhânes* assessed in a given area, (2) complaints by local people against individuals who refused to pay their share of *avâriz* taxes on the

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<sup>360</sup> For a discussion on this see S. Faroqhi, "Political Initiatives 'From the Bottom Up' in the Sixteenth-and Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Empire: Some Evidence for Their Existence," (In *Osmanistische Studien zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte: In Memoriam Vanco Boskow*, ed, Hans Georg Majer, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrasowitz, 1986: 24-33) in S. Faroqhi, *Coping with the State. Political Conflict and Crime in the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1720*, İstanbul, 1995, pp. 6-7.

<sup>361</sup> H. Gerber, "Shari'a Kanun and Custom in the Ottoman Law: The Court Records of 17th-Century Bursa", *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, 2/1 (1981), p. 135-36.

<sup>362</sup> R. Jennings: "Limitation of the Judicial powers of the Kadi in 17<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman Kayseri", *Studia Islamica*, 1 (1979), p.152.

grounds that they personally were exempt, (3) complaints regarding unjust tax demands by the tax collectors or other people involved during the *avâriz* collection, and (4) disputes between certain inhabitants of Kayseri over *avâriz* levies. Most of the complaints seem to occur shortly after, and probably as a result of, a new *mufassal* survey having been made. This is particularly noticeable in the mid 1640s, following the survey of 1642. The wording in other cases suggests that a 'recent survey/new survey-*tahrir-i cedit*' had also triggered the cases recorded in 1618/19, c.1657 and 1682.

Many *sicils* were examined during the course of this case study but relatively very few complaints at all were found. For example, as it will be seen below, only 30 *avârizhâne*-related entries in the *sicils* of Kayseri have been identified for the period of 1618 and 1690s. In some cases not a single entry has been found in the *sicils* of Kayseri consulted. Given the time span and the numbers of *avâriz*-related complaints it can be said that the 30 entries from Kayseri *sicils* could not be regarded as a sign of deterioration of the *avâriz* taxation system, but that a good working and co-operation between the centre and judicial establishment in the relatively remote corner of the empire existed, in order to maintain the best way of functioning for the taxation system, which was for the good of the state finance as well as the centre-periphery relations.

## 5.2 Complaints about the number of *avârizhânes*

The *sicils* record a number of petitions from the tax-paying population requesting a reduction in the number of *avârizhânes* assessed for a particular area. Some of these entries relate to certain types of complaints that were made directly to the



central government, which, as the documents show, responded to these petitions sympathetically. As far as Kayseri *sicils* are concerned, 9 cases have so far been identified, at different times and in different places within the *liva* between 1618 and 1700. In the following analysis the text of each case is summarised in English and then commented on.

### **Case no.1 Over-assessment: villagers petition the *divan* (1618)**

The people of the village of Venk in the *kaza* of Kayseri sent a man to the imperial *divan* with a petition complaining that the assesment of four *avârizhânes* was beyond what the village could support and they requested a reduction to two *avârizhânes* on the grounds of impoverishment. An imperial order was subsequently sent to the *kadı* of Kayseri confirming the assessment to be for only two *avârizhânes*. It appears from the same document that the villagers also applied for, and were given a copy of, the *avâriz defter*. They then applied also for an imperial decree (*emr-i serif*) itself, as confirmation.<sup>363</sup>

### **Case no.2 Over-assessment: *kadı* petitions the *divan* on behalf of villagers (1618)**

This case is similar to case 1 above, in that it was a complaint about over-assessment of *avârizhânes* in a given area. However, procedurally it is different. Here the complainants approach the local *kadı*, not the imperial *divan*.

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<sup>363</sup> Mustafa Süslü, *20 Nolu Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili, 1027/28-1618/19: Metin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirme*, (Unpublished MA Thesis, Erciyes University, Kayseri, 1995), p. 208; in the original register p.25, entry no.1005. Hereafter archival sources are cited in accordance with the original source as follows, i.e 20:25-1005 means Kayseri *sicils* number 20, p.25, entry 1005. The cases are given above in the order in which they appear in the original *defter*.

Hasan, Mustafa and Seyyid, all inhabitants of *Mükremin mahalle* in Kayseri itself, went to the *kadı* and complained that due to economic conditions the *mahalle* was unable to pay even for one *avârizhâne*, yet two had been assessed during the recent survey. The *kadı* himself sent a petition to the imperial *divan* and received an imperial order that one *avârizhâne* should be taken from *Mükremin mahalle* and then distributed among the neighbouring villages.<sup>364</sup>

This is the only case of this kind. From this case it is clear that the *kadı* could not change an assessment by himself, but could only make a recommendation by petition to the *divan*. This was a matter of state revenue, and not a legal matter, so therefore the change of any kind was subject to an imperial order from Istanbul. Here we also see the government accepting the petition but settling the issue in a way which would not reduce the amount of the *avâriz* revenue.

### **Case no. 3 Request for too much tax: villagers petition the *divan* (1618)**

An imperial order recorded in the same *sicil* for Kayseri, deals with a slightly different problem of this kind. The village of Ulubürüngüz in the *kaza* of Kayseri sent a petition directly to the Imperial *divan* complaining that they were being asked to pay for more than the four *avârizhânes* at which the village was assessed. An imperial order was sent to the *kadı* instructing him to ensure that *avâriz* collectors did not collect more than the four-*avârizhâne* amount assessed, and stating that the *divan* did not expect to receive the same complaint from this village again.<sup>365</sup>

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<sup>364</sup> M. Süslü, *20 Nolu Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili*, p. 239 (20: 33-1047).

<sup>365</sup> M. Süslü, *20 Nolu Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili*, p. 249 (20: 37-1059).



It appears from the imperial order that the tax-paying population of this village were paying their *avâriz* taxes as 4 *avârizhânes* for the entire village, according to the *avâriz* register. It is quite possible that they had been asked for more payment many times, and therefore they had applied for an imperial order from the central government to prevent future impositions. Given the expenses of sending a man to Istanbul, it is possible that the villagers had complained to the *kadı* previously without success. The significance of this case is that it deals with a village community in a relatively remote corner of the empire, showing that the villagers knew what was legal and what was not. This case itself is also evidence that the lowest level of Ottoman society was familiar enough with the means of seeking justice. The more important point is that these villagers believed that to apply to the sultan would rectify the wrong done to them. Seeing the result as recorded in the *sicil* we could now conclude that such faith was not misplaced and they were not let down by the centre, and that villagers did not waste both their time and money on a venture that would have no chance of success.<sup>366</sup>

#### **Case no.4 Over-assessment: villagers went to *divan* with a petition (1618)**

Another imperial order, dated 1027/1618, recorded in the same *sicil* deals with a similar problem without giving the number of *avârizhânes* for the village. The inhabitants of the village of Canikli in the *kaza* of Kayseri went to the imperial *divan* with a petition complaining that the *avârizhânes* assessed for them were beyond what the village could bear and requested for the reduction of one

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<sup>366</sup> Cf. also Süleyman Demirci, "Complaints in the Ottoman *avâriz*-tax system: An aspect of the relationship between centre and periphery. A case study of the Ottoman province of Karaman, 1618-1700 (according to *şer'iyye sicilleri*)", *Paper delivered at the BRISMES annual conference, 15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> July 2001: The view from the top: State and People in the Middle East*, The University of Edinburgh, (Edinburgh, 2001).

*avârizhâne* on the grounds of impoverishment. An imperial order was then sent to the *kadı* of Kayseri confirming that one *avârizhâne* would be taken away from the village, and it also urged the *kadı* to act in accordance with this change, in order to ensure that the *avâriz* collectors did not collect more money than the *avârizhânes* were assessed for. The changes in the number of *avârizhânes* was then recorded in the *mevkufat defters*, and a copy of the *defter* was given to the people of Canikli village.<sup>367</sup> Although the *divan* could not influence the *kadı* in judicial disputes, it is clear that the *divan* could ask him to make the changes in assessment on purely financial grounds. We do not know from the information given in the document what the real *avârizhâne* figure was, or how many *avârizhânes* had been assessed for the village.

**Case no.5 Confirmation of *avârizhâne* assessment: *mahalle* residents petitions the *divan* (1618)**

Another imperial order found in the same *sicil* tells us about a petition sent to the Imperial *divan* by the people of *Kubat mahallesi* in Kayseri. The people of *Kubat mahallesi* in Kayseri sent a man in order to present a petition demanding an order from the imperial *divan* confirming that they were expected to pay *avâriz* levies for one *hâne* only. The imperial decree then sent out to the *kadı* of Kayseri confirmed their status.

It appears from the text that the *avârizhânes* of *Kubat mahallesi* had not been registered in the *avâriz defter* (*furunihade olunmak*) during the course of a recent survey. The inhabitants had been given a copy of the *mevkufat defter* in order to

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<sup>367</sup> M. Süslü, *20 Nolu Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili*, p.259 (20: 41-1075).



confirm their current status regarding *avârizhânes*. Having said that, however, the people of this *mahalle* wanted something more than that in order to make sure of their status in case of any demand from the tax collectors in the region. It is probably for this reason, that they had applied for the imperial order.<sup>368</sup>

**Case no.6 Over-assessment: *kadı* petitions the *divan* on behalf of villagers (1625/26)**

The *kadı* of Kayseri sent a petition to the imperial *divan* complaining that the assessment of thirteen *avârizhânes* was beyond what the village of Mancusun could support and requested a reduction to 8 *avârizhânes* on the grounds of impoverishment. Although the people of the village of Mancusun used to pay their *avâriz* levy from 8 *hânes*, these people were being forced to pay the *avâriz* according to the new increased assessment as 13 *avârizhânes*. Thus, the *kadı* asked for an imperial permission (*emr-i serif*) in order to reduce the number of *avârizhânes* from 13 back to 8.<sup>369</sup>

The essence of this petition was a complaint about a recent increase in the number of *avârizhânes* assessed for the village. Upon the *kadı*'s petition the imperial *divan* looked into the *defters* held in Istanbul, and found out that Mancusun indeed used to pay the *avâriz* for 8 *hânes*, and that 5 *hânes* had been recently, added, but were not found in the previous register. Following this, an imperial order was sent to the *kadı* of Kayseri confirming the assessment at just 8 *avârizhânes*. The *kadı* also applied on behalf of the villagers for, and was given, a copy of the *avâriz defter*.

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<sup>368</sup> M. Süslü, *20 Nolu Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili*, pp.287-288 (20: 49-1110).

<sup>369</sup> Ahmet Gündüz, *27 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili, 1035/36-1625/26*, pp. 850-851 (27: 122-1094).

With that *defter* they were given an imperial decree (*emr-i serif-i Mancusun*) as confirmation. In that imperial decree the *kadı* was also reminded that no one should ask for more money from the people of the village of Mancusun. It was strongly emphasised that the *avâriz* would be collected in accordance with the imperial order given.

**Case no.7 Over-assessment: *mahalle* petitions the *divan* (1657)**

3.75 *avârizhânes* were assessed during the course of a survey for *Şeyh Ömer Bahcivani mahallesi* in the *kaza* of Kayseri. A petition was presented to the imperial *divan* by the inhabitants, stating that they were experiencing financial difficulty in paying for 3.75 *avârizhânes*, and therefore they needed a reduction of 3 rub' ( $0.25 \times 3 = 0.75$ ) from the number of *avârizhânes* assessed. Their petition was dealt with in the imperial *divan* and an imperial order regarding their demand was issued and then sent out to the *kadı* of Kayseri ordering that  $0.75 = 3$  rub' *hâne* should be taken from these people, and a copy of *defter* was given to them. Thus, from then onwards, the *avâriz* levies were arranged to be collected from 3 *avârizhânes*, in accordance with the imperial order.<sup>370</sup>

**Case no.8 *Avârizhâne* reduction: *kadı* petitions the *divan* (1658)**

The people of *Huvand mahallesi* in the *kaza* of Kayseri used to pay *avâriz* levies for 4.5 *avârizhânes*, but during the course of a recent survey one *avârizhâne* had been transferred from the neighbouring *Hüseyin Fakih mahallesi* and added to the *avârizhânes* of *Huvand mahallesi*. Therefore the *kadı* of Kayseri, Mevlâna Abdullah, sent a petition to the imperial *divan* in order to explain the 'oppressive'

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<sup>370</sup> Murat Tan, *66 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili, 1067/68-1656/57*, pp. 256-257 (66: 148-453).



situation for these people, and to request the reduction of 1 *avârizhâne* from *Huvand mahallesi*. In response to the *kadı*'s petition, an imperial order authorised the removal of one *avârizhâne* from *Huvand mahallesi*, and it was re-registered for *Hüseyin Fakih mahallesi*, where it had originally come from. In this imperial order, the *kadı* was also urged not to allow anyone to undermine this new arrangement, or oppress the tax-paying population.<sup>371</sup>

### **Case no.9 *Avâriz* exemption lifted: *kadı* petitions the *divan* (1689)**

6 and 1 rub' *avârizhânes* had been assessed for *Şarkıyan mahallesi* in 1092/1682. The *kadı* of Kayseri at that time had sent a petition to the imperial *divan* in order to have the people of *Şarkıyan mahallesi* made exempt from the *avâriz* levies because of their poor economic condition.<sup>372</sup> An imperial order found in this *sicil* confirms that 6 and 1 rub' *avârizhânes* of *Şarkıyan mahallesi* were accordingly kept exempt from the *avâriz* levies for the year 1092/1682. They then enjoyed their exemption from *avâriz* levies for 6 years from 1092/1682 to 1099/1688 until another imperial order was sent out an order, informing the *kadı* of Kayseri that their exemption should be removed. They were then expected to pay their *avâriz* for 6 and 1 rub' *avârizhânes*. On receipt of this order, the *kadı* had sent another petition to the imperial *divan* in order to explain the economic situation of people living in *Şarkıyan mahallesi*. In his petition he mentioned that people of the

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<sup>371</sup> M. Ali Kalıpçioğlu, *65 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili H.1067/68-M.1656/58*, p. 320-321 (65: 102-250).

<sup>372</sup> Kayseri received a considerable number of migrants from the war-torn provinces of eastern Anatolia at the end of the sixteenth century due to frequent warfare on the Iranian front and the *Celâli* terror in Anadolu which constituted the reason for the continuing immigration. The 'easterners' had given their name to a new quarter of town as *şarkıyan mahallesi*. See S. Faroghi, *Men of modest substance: House owners and house property in seventeenth-century Ankara and Kayseri*, (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1987), pp. 43-47.

*Şarkiyan mahallesi* were in a poor economic position, and they were not able to pay such levies. He added that, 'If the *avâriz* levies are collected, the people of the *mahalle* would be 'dispersed'. The imperial order that was issued in response to the *kadı*'s petition, confirmed that *Şarkiyan mahallesi* was again made exempt from the *avâriz* levies.<sup>373</sup>

### 5.3 Problems about claims to tax exemption

#### Case no.10 Attempted evasion (1617)

The *sicil* records an interesting court case concerning some individuals claiming that they were *emir* (a high-ranking military-administrative official), who used to be kept exempt from the *avâriz* levies. The essence of this case is as follows.

Certain people living in the village of Imelu in the *kaza* of Kayseri, namely Cafer b. Kalender, Abdusselam b. Allahvirdi, Saban b. Hacı Abdürrahman, Pir Kasım b. Hasan and Huseyin b. Edhem went to the court complaining about Hacı Ali Sipahi, stating that he used to pay his *avâriz* levies and other taxes in accordance with the registers. Although his name was still on the *avâriz defters*, he had not paid any kind of taxes for about 8 years, claiming that he was an *emir*.

In order to make sure of this, the *kadı* asked Hacı Ali Sipahi for his clarifying document, but he could not produce any such document. Thus, the *kadı* asked for a *fetva* about the case from Seyyid Abdi Çelebi: a person who was registered as *reaya* in a certain area, and used to pay some taxes, now claims that he is not obliged to pay these taxes. Should this person be forced to pay the taxes? The

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<sup>373</sup> Ayşe Türkmen, 96 *Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili, 1099/1100-1687/89, Metin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirme*, p.52 (96: 1-1], pp. 138-139 (96: 63-175), p.139 (96: 63-177).



answer provided that, so long as he was unable to produce a written document proving his exemption, he must still pay the set amount, as he used to.<sup>374</sup>

### **Case no.11 Attempted tax evasion (1645)**

This case is from the same village and is also very similar to case no.10.

Some people from Imelu village in the *kaza* of Kayseri namely El-Hac Abdi b. Muhsin, Ismail b. Memmi, Nasuh b. Mirza went to court and complained that Musin Bali b. Ishak, Kaya b. Dervis, Himmet b. Ibrahim and other dervishes were living on *avâriz* land, which meant they were the people responsible for paying the taxes. However, they had refused to pay the money, claiming the status of *Şeyhzade*.<sup>375</sup>

The *kadı* listened to both sides and then asked the claimants for their evidence. They brought an *emr-i şerif* which stated that whoever cultivated the land reserved for the *avâriz*, they must pay the amount of money asked for, whether it was cultivated by an *emir* or *sipahizade* or *şeyhzade*.<sup>376</sup> The *kadı* then decided to be in favour of the claimants.

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<sup>374</sup> Selahattin Çördük, *20 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili 1027/1617: Metin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirme*, (Unpublished MA Thesis, Erciyes University, Kayseri, 1995), pp.110-111 (20: 30-125).

<sup>375</sup> Mukaddes Yılmaz, *55 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili, 1055/1645: Metin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirme*, (Unpublished MA Thesis, Erciyes University, Kayseri, 1998), p.209 (55= 92-246).

<sup>376</sup> ".... Eger emir ve eger sipahizade her kim ise avâriz topragi ziraat eden kimseler vaki olan tekalifi mean eda ederler deyu buyurulmağın...." Cited in ibid.

### Case no.12 Attempted tax evasion (1657)

Another imperial order, dated 1657, deals with another similar problem in the village of Erkilet, in the *kaza* of Kayseri.

The people of the village of Erkilet in the *kaza* of Kayseri complained that some people namely Hacı Mustafa, Abdulgaffar, Hacı Yusuf, Mehmed, Bali, another Mustafa, Ibrahim, Yusuf, son of Osman, and Hacı Ali living in the village of Erkilet and cultivating *avâriz* land, refused to pay *avâriz* levies claiming to be *yeniçeri*, *kapucu* and *acemi oğlani*. Therefore, the tax-paying population of the village of Erkilet requested an imperial decree from the central government.<sup>377</sup>

Upon their complaint, an imperial decree was sent out stipulating that whoever cultivated the land reserved for the *avâriz*, no matter whether they were *sipahizade*, *yeniçeri*, *kapucu*, or *acemi oğlani*, they must pay the necessary *avâriz* levies according to their economic level.<sup>378</sup>

As seen from the information given above some people in *Kayseri livası* in the province of Karaman tried to keep themselves free from paying the *avâriz* levies by claiming false exemptions during the term of collection. As far as the Kayseri

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<sup>377</sup> Murat Tan, *66 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili, 1067/68-1656/57: "avâriz toprağı işleyenler vaki olan vergiyi verirler."* pp.193-194 (66: 131-346). This document makes a specific reference to *avâriz* in relation to land, rather than to people. This is a different understanding of the nature of *avâriz* taxation. Few other references have been found so far. For the time being it is simply noted here.

<sup>378</sup> A fetva dealing with this matter also gained from the religious authority, and recorded in the same sicil, most probable, in case of future reference. " *bu sebep beyanında bir karyede sakin olub avariza bagli emlak ve araziye mutasarrif olan Zeyd'den bir karye-i mezbure ahalisi me'muran avariz ve sair tekalif taleb eylediklerinde Zeyd'in kul ogluyum deyub vermemeye kadir olurmu beyan buyurulub hesab oluna el-cevab olunmaz. Allahu alem. Ketebe Mustafa el-fakir ufiye anhu.*" cited in *ibid.* p.194 (66: 131-347).



*sicils* are concerned, it seems unlikely that they would ever have succeeded, or evoked from paying the taxes in force.

#### **5.4 Complaints about illegal tax demands upon the *reaya***

##### **Case no.13 The Mancusun inhabitants complaint against illegal tax demands (1619)**

This case deals with a petition sent by the people living in the village of Mancusun in the *kaza* of Kayseri. It also shows that Mancusun village experienced an apparent decline in prosperity between 1618 and 1626 (See case no. 6 above).

13 *avârizhânes* were assessed for the village of Mancusun. Previously, the people living in that village had not paid *avâriz* levies in cash but instead had provided several types of boxes (*sepet*) for *Kumarcilu karhâneleri* (*Kumarcilu* units). Thus they were kept exempt from the cash *avâriz*, *nüzul* etc. Then, when *Kumarcilu karhâneleri* stopped functioning, Mancusun's exemption was lifted and the people then had to pay the *avâriz* and other related taxes, for 30 years. However, although people in the village of Mancusun paid their *avâriz* levies in accordance with the registers, they were still asked by certain people for another cash payment, namely *sepet bahasi*. Having explained their position in more detail, in a complaint to the imperial *divan*, they asked for an imperial order regarding the illegal tax demands from certain individuals.

The complaint was examined and the *mevkufat defters* checked the situation, in order to find out the current status of the people in Mancusun. From this examination it appeared that they, indeed, paid their *avâriz* for 13 *hânes* on a regular basis, but there was no mention in these registers that they had also some

other commitment in providing certain boxes. It was actually stated that their duty to provide boxes had been lifted. The imperial order issued, in response to the *kadı* of Kayseri, instructed him to not allow any *emir*, *amil*, or other such person, to make demands under the name of *sepet akçesi*, or *hizmet bedeli*. In addition, it is also mentioned that if there was a need for *sepet*, and requested for, by the central government with an imperial order, then the cost of *sepet* had to be paid to these people in full, in order to fulfill the imperial order. Finally, the *kadı* was strongly reminded to not allow the people to be oppressed, under any demands.<sup>379</sup>

**Case no.14 People in the *kaza* of Kayseri complained against illegal tax demands (1619)**

*Sipahizades*, namely Hacı Hüseyin, Himmet and Ahmed in Kayseri were asked by the *avâriz* and *nüzul* collectors to pay for *avâriz* and *nüzul* levies, although they already paid 125 *akçe* as saltpetre money (*gühercile bedeli*)<sup>380</sup> to the person in charge of saltpetre (*gühercile emini*) for the saltpetre factory (*gühercile karhânesi*), on a yearly basis. Therefore, they applied to the imperial *divan* for an imperial order regarding the problem in order to keep themselves exempt from these demands. Since they were responsible for the saltpetre service, and indeed, performed this service by paying 125 *akçe* as a cash substitute for the saltpetre factory they were kept exempt from all *avâriz*, *nüzul* and what is called in the text, other *tekalif-i örfiye* taxes. Considering this situation the imperial order in question was sent out to the *kadı* of Kayseri. As far as it can be seen, from the

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<sup>379</sup> M. Süslü, *20 Nolu Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili*, p.225 (20: 29-1030).

<sup>380</sup> Linda Darling's treatment of the empire-wide *avâriz* rate for the year 1067/1656-57 as 125 *akçe* should be checked for be sure from the original sources. It is likely that 125 *akçe* was collected as saltpetre money (*gühercile bedeli*) rather than *avâriz* levy. Cf. Darling, *Revenue-Raising*, p. 117 (footnote, 97). See also Chapter 3 above.



imperial order itself, the *kadı* of Kayseri was ordered to not allow either a *avâriz* or a *nüzul* collector to ask for such payment from these people.<sup>381</sup>

In 1055/1645 a group of six separate court cases appeared in the Kayseri *sicil*, recording complaints made by the tax collector Durmuş Ali Ağa against taxpayers in the area. Durmuş Ali Ağa had been sent to the region by the central government with instructions to inspect claims for an exemption from paying *avâriz* levies, on the grounds of status as *sipahizade*, *mutak kul*, *zaviyedar*, *tekyenişin*, and *haric-ez defter*.<sup>382</sup> Durmuş Ali Ağa brought these unresolved cases before the *kadı* of Kayseri for his adjudication.<sup>383</sup> These 6 cases appeared in the *sicil* as follows.

#### **Case no.15 Durmuş Ali Ağa's complaint against Siyavuş b. Abdullah (1645)**

Siyavuş bin Abdullah, a resident in Depecik *mahallesi* in Kayseri, refused to pay the 120 *akçe* tax payment as stated on the imperial order held in Durmuş Ali Ağa's hand. The *kadı* of Kayseri asked Siyavuş for sufficient evidence to prove that he should not pay. From Siyavuş's detailed evidence to the court, it appeared that he was registered in *Karakürkçü mahallesi avariz defteri* during the course of a survey and, therefore, he paid his share of taxes with the people in that *mahalle*. He also brought a copy of the register and presented it to the court as part of his evidence. Having examined this, and seen for himself Siyavuş b Abdullah's name

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<sup>381</sup> M. Süslü, *20 Nolu Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili*, pp.252-253 (20: 38-1065).

<sup>382</sup> For an imperial decree ordering investigation of claims to exemption from *avâriz* levies addressed to all the *kadıs* in the Province of Karaman, see Appendice 2.

<sup>383</sup> M. Yilmaz, *55 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili, 1055/1645*, p. 182(55: 76-199) , 193 (55: 83-218), 198 (55: 86-227), 220 (55: 98-263) and 221 (55: 99-264).

on the register in *Karakiürkçü mahallesi*, the *kadı* rejected Durmuş Ali Ağa's case against Siyavuş.<sup>384</sup>

#### **Case no.16 Durmuş Ali Ağa's complaint against Dilaver b. Abdullah (1645)**

Durmuş Ali Ağa complained about a certain Dilaver b. Abdullah in the *kaza* of Kayseri for not paying the 120 *akçe* as *rüsum* (taxes).<sup>385</sup> Dilaver b. Abdullah claimed that he had been registered in the *avâriz defter* of *Gebe Ilyas mahallesi* during the course of the survey, and therefore he paid his *avâriz* with the people in that *mahalle*.

In order to clear himself from the accusation made by Dilaver b. Abdullah had to present a copy of the *avâriz defter* to the court. It appeared from this *defter* that his name was, indeed, written in that *defter* with *Gebe Ilyas mahallesi*, and therefore the *kadı* decided, in the light of this evidence that there was no need for him to pay the amount of money being demanded by Durmuş Ali Ağa. The *kadı* closed the case on behalf of Dilaver b. Abdullah, and dismissed the claim against him.<sup>386</sup>

#### **Case no.17 Durmuş Ali Ağa's complaint against Dilaver b. Abdullah (1645)**

Durmuş Ali Ağa complained about another person named Dilaver b. Abdullah in the *kaza* of Kayseri, for not paying his 120 *akçe* as *rüsum*. This Dilaver b. Abdullah claimed that he was registered in the *avâriz defter* of *Depecik mahallesi* during the course of the survey, and therefore he paid his *avâriz* with the people in that *mahalle*.

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<sup>384</sup> M.Yilmaz, *55 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili, 1055/1645*, p. 182 (55: 75-198).

<sup>385</sup> The documents do not specify which taxes are meant by *rüsum*. As the defendant bases his successful evidence on an *avâriz* register, it is assumed that some part, if not all, of this *rüsum* includes *avâriz* and *nüzul* payments. However, this remains to be proven.



In order to convince the court of his fact Dilaver b. Abdullah presented a copy of the register to the court in which his name was written on. Seeing the *defter* itself, with the name of Dilaver on it, the *kadı* decided that there was no need for him to pay that amount of money to Durmuş Ali Ağa, and the *kadı* closed the case on behalf of Dilaver b. Abdullah, and dismissed the claim.<sup>387</sup>

#### **Case no.18 Durmuş Ali Ağa's complaint against Siyavuş b. Abdullah (1645)**

Durmus Ali Ağa complained about Siyavuş b. Abdullah in the *kaza* of Kayseri for not paying the 120 *akçe* as *rüsum*. Siyavuş b. Abdullah himself was registered in the *avâriz defter of Yenice mahallesi* during the course of the survey, and therefore Siyavuş b. Abdullah paid his *avâriz* with the people in that *mahalle*.

In order to convince the court, Siyavuş b. Abdullah presented a copy of the register in which his name was written on, to the court. Seeing the *defter* itself with the name of Siyavuş b. Abdullah on it the *kadı* decided that there was no need for him to pay that amount of money to Durmus Ali Ağa, and then he closed the case on behalf of Siyavuş b. Abdullah, and dismissed the claim.<sup>388</sup>

#### **Case no.19 Durmuş Ali Ağa's complaint against Yusuf b. Abdullah (1645)**

Durmuş Ali Ağa complained about Yusuf b. Abdullah in the *kaza* of Kayseri for not paying the 120 *akçe* as *rüsum*. Yusuf b. Abdullah himself was registered in the *avâriz defter of Yenice mahallesi* during the course of the survey, and therefore Yusuf b. Abdullah paid his *avâriz* with the people in that *mahalle*. In order to

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<sup>386</sup> M.Yilmaz, *55 Numarali Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili, 1055/1645*, p. 193 (55: 83-218).

<sup>387</sup> M. Yilmaz, *55 Numarali Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili, 1055/1645*, p. 198 (55: 86-227).

<sup>388</sup> M. Yilmaz, *55 Numarali Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili, 1055/1645*, p. 220 (55: 98-263).

convince the court, Yusuf b. Abdullah presented a copy of the register in which his name was written on, to the court. Seeing the *defter* itself, with the name of Yusuf b. Abdullah on it, the *kadı* decided that there was no need for him to pay that amount of money to Durmuş Ali Ağa, he closed the case on behalf of Yusuf b. Abdullah, and dismissed the claim.<sup>389</sup>

#### **Case no.20 Durmuş Ali Ağa's complaint against Kitas b. Abdullah (1645)**

Durmuş Ali Ağa complained about Kitas b. Abdullah in the *kaza* of Kayseri, for not paying the 120 *akçe* as *rüsum*. Kitas b. Abdullah himself was registered in the *avâriz defter* of *Yenice mahallesi* during the course of the survey, and therefore Kitas b. Abdullah paid his *avâriz* with the people in that *mahalle*. In order to convince the court, Kitas b. Abdullah present a copy of the register in which his name was written on, to the court. Seeing the *defter* itself, with the name of Kitas b. Abdullah on it, the *kadı* decided that there was no need for him to pay that amount of money to Durmuş Ali Ağa. The case closed on behalf of Kitas b. Abdullah, and the *kadı* dismissed the claim.<sup>390</sup>

#### **Case no.21 Request for too much tax by the *kadı*: tax-payers of Aksaray petition the *divan* (1056/1646-47)**

*Mühimme Defteri* no.90 contains one complaint from the tax-paying population relating to illegal tax demands during the collection of *avâriz* levies by the *kadı* of Aksaray in the province of Karaman. This particular case is not recorded in the *sicils*. For the *kadı* to apparently be at fault, it appears as an exceptional case and

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<sup>389</sup> M. Yılmaz, *55 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili, 1055/1645*, p. 220-221 (55: 99-264).

<sup>390</sup> M. Yılmaz, *55 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili, 1055/1645*, p.221 (55: 99-265).



against the general impression of 'fairness' and 'competence' given by the procedures surrounding other aspects of the local *avâriz* administration.<sup>391</sup> In this case again, we have the immediate action in response to the people's complaint to the central government against the *kadı*'s excessive tax demand.<sup>392</sup> Regarding the central government's inquiry, the very fact that the ordinary people of the tax-paying population of Aksaray managed to get their necessary attention, by complaining to the centre against the *kadı*, is incredible and a positive sign.<sup>393</sup>

<sup>391</sup> Studying on *Şikayet Defteri* of 1675 Haim Gerber pointed out that there were seventy-one complaints made against the *kadıs* in the whole empire. He did not give any indication how many of them related to *avâriz* levies. However he did point out that the number of complaints against governors was immeasurably larger than the *kadıs*. See Gerber, *State, Society, and Law in Islam*, p. 158-159; cf. also Hans Georg Mayer, *Das osmanische "Registerbuch der Beschwerden" (Şikayet Defteri) vom Jahre 1675*. (Vienna, 1984). The *Şikayet Defteri* contains about 2800 entries pertaining to nine months in the year 1675. For particularly relevant entries to province of Karaman see pp. 25, 34, 36, 42, 48b, 56, 62, 64, 67, 68, 77, 79, 85, 87, 101, 108, 109, 112, 116, 117, 118, 119, 129, 134, 135, 137, 138, 150, 157, 161, 173, 187, 211, 217. We traced around 58 complaints addressing different *livas* within the province. For example for the decrees (*hüküm*) addressing the *kadı* of Konya see 24b/3, 47b/1, 79a/6, 100b/5, 101a/1, 110b/2, 119a/1, 134a/1, 135a/3, 137a/5, 156a/3, 157a/6, 158a/3, 158a/6, 163b/3, 192b/3, 216a/4, 222a/4. For Kayseri see pp. 25a/1, 34a/4, 34a/5, 36a/4, 38b/4, 55b/2, 61b/2, 67b/2, 67a/1, 67a/3, 68a/3, 83a/2, 87a/1, 100b/4, 109a/1, 116a/5, 116b/8, 117a/2, 117b/3, 129a/3, 130b/1, 135a/4, 153b/1, 161b/1, 185a/1, 210b/4, 215b/7. For Niğde see pp. 84a/6, 97a/7, 106b/4, 111b/1, 116a/7, 135a/4, 197a/1, 202a/6, 210b/5, 217a/2. For Kırşehir see pp. 33a/2, 38b/4, 48a/2, 57b/3, 111b/4. For İçil see pp. 166b/1, 166b/2, 207a/3.

<sup>392</sup> "*Karaman beylerbeğisine ve Aksaray ve /.../ Kadılarina hüküm ki; Kasaba-i Aksaray ahâlîsi südde-i sa'âdetüme arz-i hâl idüp, hâlâ Aksaray kâdısı olan (...) kâdı vâki' olan avâriz ve sâir tekalîf emr-i şerîfümde ferman olunandan ziyade akcaların alduğundan gayrı hilâf-i şer'-i şerîf hüccet akçesi diyu ve sair bahâne ile ziyade akcaların alup, bunun emsali zülm ü ta'addîsinün nihayeti olmaduğın bildürüp, hilaf-i şer'-i şerîf alduğı akçaların kendülere alvirilmek bâbında emri şerîfüm recâ eyledükleri ecilden, şer'-ile görülmek emrüm olmuştur. Buyurdum ki: Vusûl buldukta husûs-i mezbûra hakk u adl üzere mukayyed ve ta'yın-i madde iden ashab-i hukûk ile beraber idüp, mukaddemâ bir def'a şer' ile görölüp fasl olmayan husûsları temâm hakk u adl üzere tefahhus idüp göresin; arz olunduğı üzere ise ol bâbda muktezâ-yi emr-i şer'-i kavîm-ile amel idüp, dahı kâdı-i mezbûrun hilâf-i şer'i şerîf alduğı hakların bu'de's-sübût hükm idüp bî-kusûr alviresin. Diyü mü'ekked emr yazılmıştır. Tahriren fi 10 Zilhicce, sene 1056.*", cited in *Mühimme Defteri* 90, commission (ed.), (Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı, Istanbul, 1993), p. 374 entry 454. For the same complaints against the *kadı* of Elmalı in Teke and Menteşe *livası* see p.206.

<sup>393</sup> For the entries relating various problems in the province of Karaman see *Mühimme Defteri* 90, p. 50, 51, 82, 86, 89, 134, 135, 149, 153, 154, 189, 209, 214, 217, 222, 223, 252, 253, 274, 283, 313, 314, 334, 334, 337, 338, 350, 351, 352, 353, 402, 403. For the entries regarding *avârizhâne* see p. 14, 17, 26, 31, 33, 190, 478. For *avâriz akçesi* see p. 264. For *avâriz* in general see p. 4, 277, 454, 485. For *avâriz* collection see p. 73. For *avâriz vakfî* see p. 320. For a study utilising complaints against the *kadıs* see Feriha Karadeniz, *Kadılar hakkında yapılan şikayetler ve kadıların selahiyetlerini suistimalleri/Complaints against the kadıs and abuses of their authority*, (Unpublished MA Thesis, Bilkent University, Institute of social science, Ankara, 1996).

### 5.5 Disputes between taxpayers over *avâriz* levies

Eleven cases were found in the Kayseri *sicils* where a dispute arose among villagers or the inhabitants of a particular *mahalle* concerning the liability of certain residents to pay their contribution to *avâriz* levies in that place. Both Muslims and non-Muslims brought such disputes before the *kadı*.

#### Case no.22 Dispute in the village of Çukurkişla in the *kaza* of Kayseri (1624/25)

People from Çukurkişla village in the *kaza* of Kayseri namely Hacı Saban b. Mustafa, Musa, Hasan, Seferi oğlu, Hacı Isa and Hacı Ali, and others went to court and set forth a claim (*takrir-i da'va idub*) in the presence of Hacı Hasan b. Durak saying 'He is from our village although he has lived in the city for a few years. We demand taxes (*tekalif sakka* and *sair tekalif*) which he has not paid". Hacı Hasan replied that my father Durak became a resident of *Depecik mahallesi* over thirty years ago, and was registered there. Now he pays *avâriz* and other taxes to *Sultan Hamamı mahallesi*, where he is a resident. We no longer have any property in the village. My father is in the *defter-i cedit* for *Depecik mahallesi*. I have a page of the *defter* (*suret-i defter hakani*), an *emr-i serif*, and a *fetva*. Let them be examined. The plaintiffs must be restrained'.<sup>394</sup>

During the course of the trial, Hasan was asked for such proof. Osman Çelebi b. el-Hac Sahin and Hacı Burak b. Sefer testified that Durak had lived in the *Sultan Hamamı mahallesi* for over thirty years and that Hasan then lived in *Sultan*

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<sup>394</sup> Selahattin Doğuş, *25 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili, 1036-1624/25: Metin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirme*, (Unpublished MA Thesis, Erciyes University, Kayseri, 1996), p.114 (25:-248).



*Hamam mahallesi*, where he paid *avâriz* and other taxes, with the people of the *mahalle*. Hasan was born in the city. The *fetva* presents the case exactly as it was stated, and concludes that taxes cannot be required of Hasan by the villagers. The people of the village wanted Hasan to take an oath that he no longer had any property at the villages, as the *fetva* specifies, and Hasan took the oath. So, in accordance with the *fetva*, the people of the village were restrained. The following two *fetvas* here were, copied into the *sicil* as proof of the record of this case.

*Fetva*; "Zeyd's father moved from a village and lived more than thirty years in a town. Does he owe any taxes there? No. There is an *emr* that if he has no property at the former village and if he pays taxes with the people of his *mahalle*, he owes no taxes to the village. Seyyid Inayetullah."<sup>395</sup>

*Fetva*; "Zeyd lived in town for twenty years and paid taxes like the people of the *mahalle*. He renounced all property in his village. Now the people of the village have demanded taxes from him. Can this be? No. Inayetullah."<sup>396</sup>

### Case no.23 Dispute in Salman Mahallesi (1645)

Another court case deals with a similar dispute over the *avâriz* payment between the *zimmis*/non-Muslims of Kayseri in *Salman mahallesi*, in the *kaza* of Kayseri.

People from *Salman mahallesi* in the *kaza* of Kayseri, namely Uğurlu veled Kavlak and Uğur veled Hacik and Fecadar veled Kirkor *zimmis*, and other *zimmis* went to court and set forth a claim (*da'va ve takrir-i kelam idub*): Uğurlu veled Akit is registered in the *avâriz* and *cizye defters* of the *mahalle* by the surveyor

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<sup>395</sup> Also quoted in R. Jennings, "Limitation of the judicial powers of the *kadı*.", p. 170; cf. *Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili no. 27*, p. 230-2.

<sup>396</sup> R. Jennings, "Limitation of the judicial powers of the *kadı*.", p. 171; cf. *Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili* (1034) no. 25, p. 147-3. Cf also Süleyman Demirci, Seeking justice: Muslim and non-Muslim in the *kadı's* court. A case study of Kayseri, 1610s-1690s (according to *şer'iyye sicilleri* of Kayseri), paper delivered at the international conference held at the University of Walse Lampeter, 3<sup>rd</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> November 2001: 'Anthropology, archaeology and heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: the life and times of F W Hasluck (1878-1920), (Lampeter 2001).

Cafer Efendi and Kenan Ağa during the course of the survey. He used to pay his *avâriz* and *cizye* with the people of the *mahalle*. We demand *avâriz* taxes which he has not given and he refuses to pay.<sup>397</sup>

Following the official complaint to the court, Uğurlu veled Akit was questioned by the *kadı* to discover whether or not the accusation that had been made, was correct. He replied that he was indeed, registered in the *avâriz defter* of *Salman mahallesi* by Cafer Efendi, but later on he sold his properties to Seyyid Musa Efendi, and moved to *Sultan Hamami mahallesi* in the *kaza* of Kayseri. He was then registered there and paid *avâriz* and other taxes, to *Sultan Hamami mahallesi*, where he was residing. He no longer had any property in *Salman mahallesi*. He had a *hiuccet* (verifying document) from Mesud Çelebi, *naib* (deputy) of Seyyid Musa Efendi. It was examined, and according to this verifying document, it confirmed that he, in fact, used to live in the *Salman mahallesi* but that he then moved to live in *Sultan Hamami mahallesi*, where he paid *avâriz* and other taxes, with the people of the *mahalle*. After seeing this verifying document, the *kadı* made his final decision saying that since he paid his taxes in *Sultan Hamami mahallesi* and there was no registered property on his name in the fore-mentioned place, he was not liable to pay any taxes for his previous estates which he had already sold. Thus, in accordance with the *şer'* and the information available to counter the claim made by people of the *Salman mahallesi*, the case was dismissed. As can be seen, the *kadı* never gave his final verdict without sound and reliable evidence against Uğurlu veled Akit.

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<sup>397</sup> M. Yilmaz, *55 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili, 1055/1645*, p. 108 (55: 31-82).



This is one instance where a surveyor and his assistant are named. It is not apparent whether either of them was centrally or locally appointed. Cafer Efendi may have been a member of the central bureaucracy sent out to lead the survey, as was the case with many *katibs* of the *divan* who conducted *tahrir* surveys in the sixteenth century. Kenan Ağa may have been of more local origin. However, this identification remains merely speculative.

#### **Case no.24 Dispute in village of Yemliha, *kaza* of Kayseri (1645)**

Yusuf b. Hidir from Yemliha village in the *kaza* of Kayseri went to court and set forth a claim. People in the village of Yemliha namely Hidir b. Ali, Mahmud, Osman, el-Hac Mustafa, Ibrahim, Ömer, Habil and Ali were registered in the *avâriz defters* of Yemliha village by the surveyor Cafer Efendi and Kenan Ağa during the course of the survey. Yusuf demanded *avâriz* taxes which they refused to pay.

Following the same court procedure they were questioned by the *kadı* and replied that they were indeed registered in the *avâriz defter* of Yemliha village by Cafer Efendi and Kenan Ağa, and they admitted that they had properties in that village for which *avâriz* payment was necessary. Having said that, however, they refused to pay *avâriz* payments to Yusuf b. Hidir on the grounds that they were *sipahizade*, and that they would only pay the *avâriz* directly to the collectors. Yusuf b. Hidir was asked for his supportive evidence or *suret-i defter* (a copy of the register) in order to defend his claim. Before the final decision was made by the *kadı*, it was checked and make sure that their names and positions were accurate in the document. Then he presented the *defter* to the court. It was examined, and their names were found in that *defter*. After examining the *defter* it

also became clear that they were liable like the other people to pay, any kind of *avâriz* that had been fixed by the central government. The *kadı* made his final decision stating that since their names are written in the register they had to pay the *avâriz* taxes along with the people of the Yemliha village. Thus, according to the *defter*, Hidir b. Ali, Mahmud, Osman, el-Hac Mustafa, Ibrahim, Ömer, Habil and Ali were all asked to cooperate with the people in their village.<sup>398</sup>

The significance of this case itself, plus very similar cases, that were presented during the course of this Chapter, is that they all support the assumption made earlier, that pre-collecting was carried out locally by the villagers, before the actual collector(s) arrived to the local areas concerned.<sup>399</sup>

#### **Case no.25 Dispute in Oduncu mahalle, *kaza* of Kayseri (1645)**

The *zimmis* from *Oduncu mahallesi* namely Vartan veled Markar, Vagya veled Tatir and Cafir veled Yuvan in the *kaza* of Kayseri went to court and set forth a claim. Ohan veled Sehrik was registered in the *avâriz* and *cizye defters* of *Oduncu mahallesi* by the surveyor during the course of the new survey (*tahrir-i cedit*). He lives in our *mahalle* and has property there. We demanded *avâriz* taxes which he refused to pay.

Ohan was questioned by the *kadı* as to whether or not the accusation made was correct. He replied that he was indeed registered in the *avâriz* and *cizye defters* of *Oduncu mahallesi*, and he used to have properties in that *mahalle* for which *avâriz* payment was necessary. Having said that, however, he no longer had the property there, since he sold it to someone called Sam Hatun on 1054/1644, and he moved

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<sup>398</sup> M.Yilmaz, *55 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili, 1055/1645*, p.112 (55: 34-88).

<sup>399</sup> See Chapter 4, p. 194-196.



to live somewhere else. He was asked to provide somebody who could testify for him in court, in his favour. The court then asked Ahmed Bey b. Mustafa Bey and Mustafa Beşe b Abdullah for their testimony on the matter. They told the court that Ohan veled Sehrik sold his property to Sam Hatun in their presence, on the given date. He then paid the *avâriz* and other taxes where he lived. The *kadı* accepted their testimony and made his final decision, stating that, since he had no property in the mentioned *mahalle* and paid the *avâriz* taxes in another place, therefore, according to the imperial order (*ber muceb-i emr-i şerif*) the claim made by the people of *Oduncu mahallesi* was dismissed.<sup>400</sup> Here we see that the *kadı* did not rule against the accused Ohan veled Sehrik without some sound and reliable evidence.

#### **Case no.26 Dispute in the village of Harsin, *kaza* of Kayseri (1645)**

This case deals with people who deserted their village and settled somewhere else. The people from Harsin village in the *kaza* of Kayseri namely Hanifi, Behram, Mirza, Osman b. Ali Bali, Hasan, Hüseyin and Mustafa b. Zulfikarin in the *kaza* of Kayseri went to court and set forth a claim saying that Musa b Yusuf and his sons, Mustafa, Süleyman, Ali, Ömer and Osman were registered in the *avâriz defters* of Harsin village by the surveyor during the course of the new survey (*tahrir-i cedit*). They fled from Harsin village and settled in an unknown village, and they still have property in Harsin village. We demanded *avâriz* taxes according to the imperial order which they refused to pay.

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<sup>400</sup> M. Yılmaz, *55 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili, 1055/1645*, p. 112-113 (55: 34-89).

Obviously, the plaintiffs asked for the payment to be made by the help of the court. They were then questioned by the *kadı* as to whether or not their claim was correct. The defendants replied that they were indeed registered in the *avâriz defters* of Harsin village, and that they had properties there, but they fled from Harsin village and settled in Sarmısaklı village. They also declared that they were registered in the *avâriz defter* of Sarmısaklı village. They paid for *avâriz* taxes for their properties owned in Sarmısaklı village as well. Bearing all this in mind, the *kadı* decided that since they had properties in both villages for which *avâriz* levies were resumed, they were then, liable to pay taxes in both locations.<sup>401</sup> This case presented here, also indicates that the *avâriz*-related taxes was imposed upon those taxable people who either, in Inalcik's description, had 'the occupation of a definite unit of land' or property. Obviously this reminds us the *çift-hâne* system in the classical period and its transformation in the 17th-century.<sup>402</sup>

### **Case no.27 Dispute in Harput mahallesi, kaza of Kayseri (1645)**

This case deals with a dispute over the *avâriz* and *cizye* levies between the non-Muslim people in *Harput mahallesi* in the city of Kayseri.

The people from *Harput mahallesi* namely Kanber veled Miran, Agob veled Zeki and Hatar veled Sefer and the others in the city of Kayseri went to court and set forth a claim saying that Yuri Bali veled Nekfur has property in *Harput mahallesi*, and he was registered in the *avâriz* and *cizye defters* of the *mahalle* by the

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<sup>401</sup> M. Yilmaz, *55 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili, 1055/1645*, p. 102 (55: 27-74).

<sup>402</sup> For more on this see, H. Inalcik, "The *çift-hâne* system.", pp. 143-154; and particularly see, pp. 145-151.



surveyor during the course of the survey. We demanded *avâriz* and *cizye* taxes which he refused to pay.<sup>403</sup>

Yuri Bali veled Nefur was then questioned by the *kadi*, to discover whether or not the accusation that had been made was correct. He replied that he was, indeed, registered in the *avâriz* and *cizye defters* of *Harput mahallesi*. He had sold his properties to someone else and had moved to *Eslem Paşa mahallesi*. There he paid *avâriz* taxes with the people of the *mahalle*, whereas he paid his *cizye* with the people of *Harput mahallesi*, in accordance with the *cizye defter* of the *mahalle*. To support his position, he also presented a *fetva* as evidence to the court. According to the *fetva*:

"Zeyd lives in a *mahalle* and pays the *tekalif* with the people in his *mahalle*, while he pays for his *cizye* commitment with the people of *Harput mahalle* where he used to live. Does he have to pay for his properties? No. If he pays for his properties with the people where he lives, and if he pays *cizye* taxes with the people of his former *mahalle*, he owes no taxes to the village for the properties he has in his present *mahalle*."<sup>404</sup>

Considering the evidence provided to the court the final decision was to dismiss the case of the people of *Harput mahallesi's* claim.

### **Case no.28 Dispute in the village of Kölete, *kaza* of Kayseri (1645)**

This case deals with a false claim over *avâriz* from the people of Kölete village in the city of Kayseri.

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<sup>403</sup> M. Yılmaz, *55 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili, 1055/1645*, p. 182-183 (55: 76-199).

<sup>404</sup> M. Yılmaz, *55 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili, 1055/1645*, p. 182-183 (55: 76-199).

The people from Kölete village namely Musa b. el-hac Bali, Mehmed b. Ismail, Köse Mahmud and the others in the *kaza* of Kayseri went to court and set forth a claim saying that Musli b. Hasan of *Yenice mahallesi* has property in Kölete village and he was registered in the *avâriz defters* of the village by the surveyor during the course of the survey (*tahrir*). We demanded *avâriz* and other taxes which he refused to pay.<sup>405</sup>

Musli b. Hasan was then questioned by the *kadı* as to whether or not the accusation made was correct. He replied that he was registered in the *avâriz defter* of *Yenice mahallesi*, and he had no properties in Kölete village for which any *avâriz* payment should be made. The plaintiffs were asked by the *kadı* for their evidence, but they could not manage to provide any, to prove their claim. Therefore, the case was dismissed.<sup>406</sup>

### **Case no.29 Dispute in the village of Gülveri, *kaza* of Kayseri (1645)**

This case deals with a similar false claim over *avâriz* from the *emin* of Kayseri *karhânesi*, Ismail Cavuş, for the year 1055/ 1645 in the city of Kayseri.

Emin Ismail Cavuş in the *kaza* of Kayseri went to court and set forth a claim saying that Dede b. Yahya and Yunus b. Selim from Gülveri village in the *kaza* of Kayseri have properties in Gülveri village. He demanded *avâriz* and other taxes which they refused to pay.

Dede b. Yahya and Yunus b. Selim were then questioned by the *kadı* as to whether or not *emin* Ismail Cavuş's claim was correct. They replied that their

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<sup>405</sup> M. Yilmaz, *55 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili, 1055/1645*, p. 196-197 (55: 85-224).

<sup>406</sup> M. Yilmaz, *55 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili, 1055/1645*, p. 196-197 (55: 85-224).



village was in a ruined position, (*harab olmak* i.e. in severe poverty), during the survey. Therefore, the surveyor, *muharrir*, registered them in the *avâriz defter* of Mancusun village in the *kaza* of Kayseri, and they paid *avâriz* levies with the people in Mancusun village. Having explained their position in detail, they presented the copy of the *avâriz defter* of Mancusun village as their evidence to the court. It was examined by the *kadı* in order to find out their status there, and it appeared from the *defter* that their names were on the *defter*, and it declared that they paid the *avâriz* with the people in Mancusun village. Finally, the court dismissed *emin* Ismail Cavuş's claim.<sup>407</sup>

### **Case no.30 Dispute in the village of Süksün, *kaza* of Kayseri (1645)**

This case deals with another false claim over *avâriz* in the *kaza* of Kayseri.

Mustafa b. Minnet from Süksün village in the city of Kayseri went to court and set forth a claim saying that Dede b. Ilyas from Süksün village in the *kaza* of Kayseri was registered in the *avâriz defter* of the village by the surveyor during the course of survey. He demanded *avâriz* taxes which Dede b. Ilyas refused to pay.

The *zimmi* Dede was then questioned by the *kadı* as to whether or not Mustafa b. Minnet's claim was correct. He replied that he was registered in the *avâriz defter* of *Gebe Ilyas mahallesi* in the *kaza* of Kayseri during the survey, and stated that he paid the *avâriz* with the people in that *mahalle*. Then he presented the copy of the *avâriz defter* for *Gebe Ilyas mahallesi* to the court. The evidence was examined, and his name was found in the *defter*. After seeing his name on the *defter*, the *kadı* made his final decision stating that,

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<sup>407</sup> M. Yılmaz, *55 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili, 1055/1645*, p.197 (55: 85-226).

since his name was written in the register, and he paid the *avâriz* taxes with the people of *Gebe Ilyas mahallesi*, then, according to the *defter*, Mustafa b. Minnet's claim was overruled.<sup>408</sup>

### **Case no.31 Dispute in Selaldi mahallesi, kaza of Kayseri (1645)**

This case deals with a conflict between the *zimmis* over the *avâriz* taxes. The *zimmis* from *Selaldi mahallesi* namely Sefer veled Kanber, Manas veled Yagub and Murad veled Migirdic in the *kaza* of Kayseri, went to court and set forth a claim. Babuk veled Arizman was registered in the *avâriz defters* of *Selaldi mahallesi* by the surveyor during the course of the new survey (*tahrir-i cedit*). He lives in *Selaldi mahallesi* and has property there. We demanded *avâriz* taxes, and he refused to pay.

He was then questioned by the *kadı* as to whether or not the accusation made was correct. Babuk explained his situation in more detail, before the *kadı* declared that he was originally required to pay the taxes with the people in that *mahalle*, and had been registered in its *avâriz defter* of the *mahalle*. However, during the course of the new survey (*tahrir-i cedit*) he was omitted from (*haric-i defter olmak*) the *defter*. After that, he went to İstanbul, and explained his economic situation. As a result, he was made exempt from the *avâriz* taxes, and his name was registered in *Gebe Ilyas mahallesi* as *merammeci* (a construction worker/a repairer/ restorer of damaged or derelict buildings) on the condition that he would look after the public fountain (*çeşme*) built by *el-hac Ahmed Çelebi*. The *kadı* then asked him to prove whether or not there was

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<sup>408</sup> M. Yilmaz, *55 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili, 1055/1645*, p. 207 (55: 91-242).



any written document showing that what he had said was correct. Babuk had obtained a *fetva* from the *Seyhulislam* and gave it to the *kadı* as his evidence. After examining his documents, the people of *Selaldi mahallesi* were restrained, and that as long as Babuk remained as a *merammetci* in *Gebe Ilyas mahallesi* Sefer, Menas and Murad's claim would be overruled by the court.<sup>409</sup>

## 5.6 Conclusion

The *sicils* are the records of Ottoman legal courts which enable us to examine all aspects of the daily life as well as the responses to the people's complaints from the ruler against any wrongs done to them by various individuals. Such complaints, relating to *avâriz* levies, that were examined during the course of this Chapter in these series of registers, show that the centre did uphold the concept of social justice against unlawful treatment that was undertaken by the hand of state officials or otherwise. Although an officially appointed tax inspector such as Durmuş Ali Ağa could apply to the court where payments were in dispute, as seen above, he would not necessarily win his case. As far as the *avâriz* levies in the province of Karaman during the 17<sup>th</sup> century are concerned, on the whole the relationship between the centre and periphery displays a very positive picture and

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<sup>409</sup> Meryem Ünal; 67 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili (1068/1658), Metin Transkripsiyonu ve Değerlendirme, (Unpublished BA Dissertation, Erciyes University, Kayseri, 1996), p.16 (67: 58-177); cf. M. Tan, 66 Numaralı Kayseri Şer'iyye Sicili, 1067/68-1656/57, p. 164 (66: 122-302); Cf also Süleyman Demirci, Seeking justice: Muslim and non-Muslim in the kadı's court. A case study of Kayseri, 1610s-1690s (according to şer'iyye sicilleri of Kayseri), paper delivered at the international conference held at the University of Walse Lampeter, 3<sup>rd</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> November 2001: 'Anthropology, archaeology and heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: the life and times of F W Hasluck (1878-1920), (Lampeter 2001). For the entries regarding *meremmetci* in the other parts of the empire at the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century see İlhan Şahin- Emecen Feridun, Osmanlılarda Divân-Bürokrasi-Ahkâm: II. Bâyezid Dönemine Ait 906/1501 Tarihli Ahkâm Defteri, p. 42-147 (page 42 entry 147), 60-211, 70-250, 108-392, and for the entries regarding *avâriz* levies in general see 40-139, 41-144, 43-154, 60-212, 63-222, 65-231, 68-242, 71-254, 80-284, 84-300, 104-375, 105-379, 110-396, 116-423, 120-438, 126-455, 130-470, 130-471. All these cases and information presented above produced a number of questions which we tried to answer in Chapter 4. \*

was far from being based on compulsion by the state, but rather on the force of the law.<sup>410</sup>

The reasons that made people complain were mainly based on human errors. As far as the *sicils* are concerned, most recorded *avâriz*-related complaints fall into four different categories;

First, the over-assessment of an area beyond what its inhabitants could bear. It happened occasionally that between the time when the tax collectors were appointed, or given a register, and the time they began to collect *avâriz* levies, certain villages or *mahalles* claimed to have undergone a change for the worse in their circumstances.

Second, the inclusion in the tax registers of individuals which were either not required to pay at all or which had already paid another levy. In some cases the names of individuals seemingly appeared in two places in the registers, and therefore they were asked to pay a double *avâriz* levy. In these cases the court generally found in favour of the defendant. It is likely that these double payment demands were mostly mistakes on the part of those compiling the registers, perhaps copying details from a previous register which were no longer valid.

Third, complaints regarding unjust tax demands from the tax-paying population by the collectors. Some court cases presented above were not addressing tax-paying subjects' complaints but the tax collectors. When the tax-payers refused to pay or the collectors asked unlawful payment and they refused to pay then the tax collectors tried to ensure the money, with a court case.

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<sup>410</sup> Cf. also S. Demirci, "Complaints in the Ottoman *avâriz*-tax system: An aspect of the relationships between centre and periphery. A case study of the Ottoman province of Karaman, 1618-1700 (according to *şer'iyye sicilleri*)", *Paper delivered at BRISMES annual conference, 15<sup>th</sup>-18<sup>th</sup> July 2001: The view from the top: State and People in the Middle East*, The University of Edinburgh, (Edinburgh, 2001).



Fourth, disputes between certain inhabitants of Kayseri over *avâriz* levies at the pre-collection stage.

As far as the *sicils* are concerned there is no evidence for corruption in the *avâriz* system in the province of Karaman during the 17<sup>th</sup> century. The important point to make is the determination displayed by ordinary people in challenging Ottoman officials at the court. The very fact that tax officials complained to the court against ordinary people but did not always win shows that the notion that the court would automatically back the state official against ordinary people is false. In some cases however, certain people tried to avoid paying the *avâriz* impositions, by claiming false exemption status. The distinct feature of centre-periphery relations is the fact that there was the highest consideration given by the Ottoman court, as well as by the centre itself, to every humble complaint, so it would be dealt with accordingly. As far as *avâriz* levies in the province of Karaman are concerned, we can therefore conclude from the cases presented here, that the judicial system was, on the whole, fair and capable of coping with problems so long as the complaint was made in the court.

It is also clear from the court cases that were presented that the *kadıs* could not change the assessment, but only make recommendations; by sending a petition to the *divan*. As it is seen from the statement above, the *kadı* could recommend change, but only the *divan* could legalise it, since it was a matter of the state revenue and not some kind of legal matter that the *kadı* could have dealt with, according to the *şer'* and *kanun* in use, and in consultation of the *avâriz* register. Therefore, the change of any kind, or increase or decrease in the number of *avârizhânes* was subject to an imperial order from the central government.

The different cases presented above show that the central government did not allow anyone to exploit the tax-paying population, either for the sake of the government's income or the individual collector's own wishes, in any possible way. The evidence of this is found in number of imperial orders addressing to the *kadis* in the *sicils* of Kayseri.

The *kadı* was urged, by being told: "You, *kadı* of Kayseri, when my order arrives, carry it out immediately without delay - I do not want to hear any further complaints on the matter." "You, *kadı* of Kayseri, so-and-so has made the following complaints; if it is so, then his complaint should be heard according to *şer'*" "You *kadis* of Karaman, or *kadı* of Kayseri shall act justly in this matter and not let anything be demanded contrary to the regulations (*kanun*) and the register (*avariz defteri*)...". The central government tried to not harm its people, while it also tried to not lose any revenue. We could therefore suggest that in the seventeenth century, the Ottoman central government also showed a consistent determination in response to the petitions from tax-paying population by ordering local *kadis* to act with justice.

According to the *sicils* used in this study, there is no significant variation in *avâriz-nüzul* complaints during the 17<sup>th</sup> century. There is also no evidence for racial or religious discrimination between Muslims and non-Muslims in the Ottoman province of Karaman. From the entries in the *sicils* of Kayseri, we are in a position to suggest that in the seventeenth century, Ottoman courts showed a consistent determination to act with justice and deliver it for all.

To sum this up, there is no evidence in these *sicils* for deliberate maladministration, much less corruption, in the *avâriz* system in the Karaman province, during the seventeenth century. The pivotal role of the *kadı* as the



keeper of the records is emphasised again, both in examining local disputes and in executing amendments decided in Istanbul. Tax collectors and taxpayers, both Muslims and non-Muslims had confidence in the *kadı's* administration of affairs.<sup>411</sup> The cases noted here appear mainly to follow the making of a new *avâriz* survey. Given the relatively few number of cases found, it may be assumed that survey assessments were generally acceptable to taxpayers. This would also seem to be the case from the relative stability of the *avârizhâne* numbers in table 2.3 above (see chapter 2). The government sought to collect sufficient revenue efficiently and without long-running disputes; it certainly did not insist on maintaining unfair assessment and it instructed *kadıs* to act with justice towards the *reaya*. This is an instance of the flexibility and pragmatism of Ottoman tax administration.

The cases presented in this chapter show that the complaints ranged from the lowest level to the highest reaches of the society, from the urban areas to the villages in rural areas. Although the cases presented indicate that wrongs were done, it is clear, however, that these people fought back with such determination and apparent lack of fear, no matter what social level or ethnic group, or faith they came from. Not a single case could be found in the *sicils* used in this study, in which the central government itself had acted unjustly or tolerated injustices to its subjects. We should not forget that we are talking about just one province in a vast empire. But what about the tax collectors together with other people involved in

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<sup>411</sup> Cf. Süleyman Demirci, Seeking justice: Muslim and non-Muslim in the *kadı's* court. A case study of Kayseri, 1610s-1690s (according to *şer'iyye sicilleri* of Kayseri), paper delivered at an international conference held at the University of Walse Lampeter, 3<sup>rd</sup>-6th November 2001: 'Anthropology, archaeology and heritage in the Balkans and Anatolia: the life and times of F W Hasluck (1878-1920), (Lampeter 2001).

*avâriz* collection and their possible tax extortion in the remaining parts of the empire? To answer this question, further research is needed.



## Chapter 6: Conclusion

The focus of this study has been the development of *avâriz* and *nüzul* levies as a major source of regular taxation for the Ottoman government during the seventeenth century. It is a line of research that has so far attracted little attention from scholars, despite the fact that there is now more of an active debate on the Ottoman socio-economic history, generally.

In basing chapters 2, 3 and 4 of the study on a series of *avâriz/nüzul* registers for the period 1621 to 1699, I have utilised a little known archival source, and have demonstrated how these registers are potentially as valuable for research on seventeenth-century history as the more well-known *tapu tahrir defterleri* have been for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This is particularly true when *avâriz/nüzul* registers are studied in conjunction with *mühimme* and *ahkam defterleri*, and with *şer'iyye sicilleri*. They can be usefully employed in the study not only of taxation practice, but also of aspects of Ottoman provincial administration, of the role of the *kadı*, of tax collectors, and to a certain degree, of demographic trends.

Although this study has concentrated on the province of Karaman, the existence of similar *avâriz/nüzul* register series for most Ottoman territories in Anadolu and Rumeli for a similar period will further allow us to analyse in a comparative perspective the similarities and dissimilarities of the *avâriz* system in these core parts of the Ottoman state. In the case of Karaman province, the relationship between centre and periphery concerning *avâriz* taxation seems just, positive and

efficient. Little evidence has been found here of malpractice or lack of direction, much less of corruption. We see the ability of the state administration to adapt to circumstances in the long term, and in the short term to accommodate local petitions without undue loss of revenue by the treasury or loss of confidence by ordinary people in the sultan's justice.

At a basic level, the *avâriz/nüzul* registers used here show that there was no variation in the administrative division of Karaman during the seventeenth century, i.e. that the region had become stable in its arrangement of eight *livas* and 48 *kazas*. There was no sudden increase in the number of *kazas* such as that is seen in the late sixteenth century which might have indicated a financial or security problem. However, the obvious fluctuations in *avârizhâne* numbers in the first half of the century will repay even further study. They may well be the evidence of either social unrest and population movement, or of a still-developing, relatively uncertain *avâriz* system in which the composition of *avârizhânes* was not standardised. There may be other factors to be considered.

Interpreting *avârizhâne* data, with any confidence, for demographic purposes is difficult at present, due to the number of unknown variables to be taken into account, and has not been attempted to have been done here. *Avâriz* surveys were carried out in order to determine tax revenues for the imperial treasury, not as a population count. The registers which would be the most helpful for demographic purposes are the *mufasssal avâriz defterleri*, such as those made for Konya and Kayseri in 1642, which specify the number of *nefer*, or *gerçekhâne*, in an *avârizhâne* in a given *kaza*, and indicate taxpayers' economic status as poor,



middling, or rich. Unfortunately, there does not appear to be a regular series of *mufassal avâriz defters* available for research over large areas or a long period of time. However, it is possible to gain general impressions of relative prosperity within Karaman province by comparing the *avârizhâne/nefer* ratios in different areas in 1642 and by looking at the general trends of increase or decrease in *avârizhâne* numbers themselves, over longer periods. Again, when extended to more provinces of the empire, this kind of analysis could be very fruitful for the study of socio-economic developments.

We have also shown that *avâriz akçesi* and *bedel-i nüzul* levies were collected annually rather than irregularly, certainly from 1640 and probably from at least 1621, and also that they were both apparently often levied in the same year and on the same *avârizhâne* units. This goes against the notion gained from 16<sup>th</sup>-century *avâriz* data that the cash *avâriz* and *bedel-i nüzul* were not regular taxes and were mutually exclusive. The 17<sup>th</sup>-century situation was quite different, though exactly how and when the change took place remains to be determined. Once the system was firmly established, from around 1659, *bedel-i nüzul* rates at 600 *akçe* per *avârizhâne* per year were always higher than *avâriz akçesi* at 400 *akçe*. These appear to have become standard rates in other Anatolian and northern Syrian provinces also.

From the relative lack of complaints in the *şer'iyye sicilleri* about the *avâriz/nüzul* levies or of difficulties in the collection of these taxes, it does not appear that in themselves they constituted an undue tax burden upon the *reaya*. There is no general impression that these taxes were considered excessive or unjust. In most

cases local people actively worked together to collect the sums due for presentation to the official tax collector, and expected confirmation of *avâriz* status from the *kadı* in cases of dispute. The *kadı's* role in the *avâriz* system was pivotal. Aside from keeping copies of all *avârizhâne* surveys and related court cases, he could make recommendations to the imperial *divan* about desirable changes in *avârizhâne* assessment, based on his knowledge of local economic circumstances, but he could not, by himself, make any changes in the number of *avârizhânes* assessed for a given village or *mahalle*. Final decisions on such matters of state revenue were made in Istanbul, after consultation with the *kadı*.

The registers show men from a variety of origins named as official tax collectors during the century, although the majority were from a military background. Generally speaking, collectors in the first half of the century were drawn mainly from the Istanbul-based *altı bölük* (standing cavalry) regiments, as means of giving them extra employment and/or of using them to reinforce perceptions of government control in the aftermath of the *Celâli* era. Men from a wider range of military backgrounds continued to be involved in *avâriz/nüzul* collection in Karaman in the second half of the century. In the period up to c.1658 it was not usual for one person to take entire responsibility for collection throughout the province, and there is a clear involvement of men of non-military origins. After around 1658, however, it was usual to appoint only one tax collector for the entire province. In 13 out of 20 known cases in this later period the collector was of



military origin. Here we see clearly the continued involvement of military personnel at lower level of the provincial administration.<sup>412</sup>

Noticeable, also throughout the century is the fact that there was little continuity of tax collectors in a given area, and a few local people were officially appointed to collect in their localised areas. This was presumably deliberate government policy to prevent a collector building up a close relationship with tax payers which might compromise his authority as a neutral collector and make collecting difficult in areas suffering from declining prosperity.

As will be seen from these conclusions, much more work remains to be done on *avâriz* taxation generally. There is considerable scope within this topic for significant development of our understanding of 17<sup>th</sup>-century Ottoman socio-economic history. This study is, to a large extent, merely the first of what could potentially be a lifetime study. It is to be hoped that the above findings will provide a solid basis for much more future work.

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<sup>412</sup> On this see Chapter 4, pp. 200-202.

## GLOSSARY

**Adaletnâme:** Justice decree, issued by the sultan to condemn and readress illegal activities of provincial authority.

**Ağa:** Commander of a military unit. Chief or master, head servant of a household.

**Ahkâm:** Orders (sing. Hükm).

**Akçe:** Ottoman silver coin, the chief unit of account in the Ottoman Empire

**Âla:** For tax assessment purposes, the highest level of household income.

**Altı Bölük:** The regiments of “Six Bölüks”, or regiments of standing cavalymen of the Palace, comprising the *sipahiyan*, *silahdaran*, *ulufeciyan-ı yesar*, *ulufeciyan-ı yemin*, *gureba-ı yesar*, *gureba-ı yemin*.

**Askerî:** Literally ‘of military class’; all members of the military and religious class with complete tax exemption. A non-Muslim, when granted such a status by a sultanic diploma also became an *askerî*.

**Avâriz:** extra-ordinary taxes levied on the tax-paying subjects (*reaya*) in times of emergency, mostly to meet military expenditures. From the late sixteenth century onwards, these levies were regularised annually in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century.

**Avâriz-ı divâniye:** Extraordinary taxes in cash, in kind or by services, introduced by the Imperial Council (*Divân-ı hümayun*) on emergency situations. See Avâriz.

**Ayân** (or *ayân-ı vilâyet*): Provincial and local notables, involved in almost every aspect of provincial and local affairs as mediators between the people and the government.

**Bedel-i güherçile:** Substitute for the saltpetre levy on retired janissaries and the sons of *timar*-holders.

**Bedel-i nüzul:** Cash equivalent for the provision levy, usually flour and barley, see *nüzul*.

**Beşe:** Honourable title for military men.

**Bey:** Commander, early title of the Ottoman ruler. Title of an independent principality in Anatolia during the establishment of the Ottoman empire.

**Beylerbeyi:** Literally ‘bey of beys’; it designates the governor-general of a *beylerbeyilik*.

**Beylerbeyilik:** Synonym of *eyâlet* or *vilâyet*; the two terms denote the Ottoman province, the largest administrative unit under a *beylerbeyi*.

**Bin ...:** Son of (Mustafa). Specifically used by Muslims. See *Veled*.



**Celâli:** A general name given to rebels against the central government during the sixteenth and seventeenth-century in Anadolu. During the period 1596-1610, 1622-28 and 1658, it refers mostly to *sekban* and *sarıca* mercenary bands, which turned into bandit gangs when they were unemployed, Anadolu at the same period.

**Cizye:** Poll tax paid by non-Muslim adult males in Islamic states.

**Defter:** An administrative register.

**Defterdar:** Literally 'keeper of registers'; head of the treasury and finance department; book-keeper of a department, and a province.

**Derbend village:** Village situated near a lonely mountain pass, which was protected by the inhabitants of such a village in return for exemption from paying *avâriz* taxes.

**Derbendci:** Guardian of mountain passes. See Derbend village.

**Divan-ı hümayun:** The imperial council, presided over by the grand vizier, which functioned as the government and the supreme court in İstanbul.

**Divani:** Pertaining to the central government.

**Ebna-i sipahiyan:** Ottoman military corps.

**Edna:** For tax assessment purposes, for the lowest level of household income.

**Efendi:** Honourable title of a person with a *medrese* education.

**Emanet system:** Collection of the taxes assigned for the central treasury through trusted men (*emins*).

**Emin:** A trusted man, superintendent; an agent, person in charge of tax collection under the *emanet* system; the head of an office in the palace or government responsible for providing provisions, etc., or to supervise a public work.

**Emir:** See Ümera.

**Emr-i şerif:** Imperial order.

**Eşraf:** 'Nobles', a term used for those who claimed to be descended from the Prophet Muhammad; leading people (sing. *şerif*). See Seyyid.

**Evsat:** For tax assessment purposes, for a medium level of household income.

**Eyâlet:** a province in Ottoman administrative practice; from the late sixteenth century this the term was used for a *beylerbeylik*.

**Ferman:** Literally 'command', imperial order or edict.

**Fetva:** Formal written legal opinion on a point of *shari'a* or Islamic law by a Muslim legist known as a *müftî*. The anglosised spelling of *fetva* is *fatwa*.

**Gerçekhâne:** Real household.

**Güherçile:** Saltpetre.

**Gulamiye:** Salary of a tax collector or a scribe, paid by tax-payers together with their taxes.

**Guruş:** Large Ottoman silver coin of varying size and varying value, mostly used for major payments in the Ottoman Empire of the seventeenth century.

**Esedî guruş or aslanlı guruş:** a dutch coin, known as *esedi guruş* with a lion's head stamped on it.

**Hâne:** House; a family; a household, for tax purposes. See *gerçekhâne*, *avârizhâne*.

**Harac(ç):** A term usually used for *cizye* by the Ottomans. See *cizye*.

**Haraççı:** A *cizye* collector.

**Haraçgüzar:** Non-Muslims who were subject to the *cizye*.

**Haremeyn-i şerifeyn:** The two holy cities, Mecca and Medina.

**Hasıl:** Product, yield, total revenue or income to be collected as tax (pl. *hasılât*).

**Hazine or hızzane-i amire:** A term used for the state treasury.

**Hüccet:** Copy of an entry in the *kadı*'s registers or *sicils*.

**Hükum/hükm:** Order; decision made on a matter presented in a petition.

**Hükm-i şerif:** Imperial order.

**İcmal defter:** Summary register; The *cizye*, *avâriz*, and *mukâtaa* registers also have their own *icmâl defters*.

**İltizam:** Literally 'undertaking', in the Ottoman fiscal practice it refers to tax farming, usually called the *mukâtaa* system, in which the government revenues were farmed out to private bidders. See *Mültezim*.

**Janissary:** See *Yeniçeri*.

**Kadı sicilleri:** Written records of *kadı* courts/ court registers.

**Kadı:** Judge, administering both the *shari'a* or Islamic law and *kanun* (the sultanic law); chief administrator of a *kaza*.

**Kanunname:** Code of regulations, a collection of *sultanic* laws.



**Kapıkulu sipahi:** Member of the “*Six Bölük*” regiments of the palace.

**Kapıkulu:** 'Slave of the Porte', servant or soldier at the palace and fortresses.

**Karhâne:** Workshop/unit for manufacturing certain things.

**Karye:** Village.

**Katib:** Scribe, record-keeper.

**Kaza:** Legal-administrative unit corresponding to the jurisdiction of a *kadı* in the provinces.

**Kethüda:** Steward, agent, or deputy.

**Kile:** A measure of grain.

**Köprücü:** One who maintains and repairs bridges and is exempt from *avâriz* taxes.

**Levend:** Mercenary of *reaya* origin, usually a vagrant peasant youth who sometimes became a brigand; a landless unemployed person.

**Liva:** Synonym of *sancak*; sub-province, sub-division of a *eyâlet* or *vilâyet*.

**Ma'zul:** Out of their previous official employment/status/office held.

**Mahalle:** Any quarter of a town.

**Mahkeme:** Court of justice.

**Maliye ahkam defteri:** Register of outgoing orders of the finance department.

**Menzilci/Menzilhâne:** Those responsible for post stations and looking after post horses used for transport. They were also exempt from paying *avâriz* levies.

**Mevkufat kalemi:** Finance bureau that recorded income from the properties that were temporarily in the possession of the treasury; later in charge of the *avâriz* taxes.

**Muaf:** Exempt from taxation.

**Muafname:** Document of those exempt from taxation.

**Mufassal defter:** Detailed register that listed tax-payers by name and status, according to their place of residence and the taxes levied on them.

**Muharrir:** Registrar.

**Muhasebe:** Accounting; accounting register.

**Mukataa:** subdivision of government revenues for collection purposes, in the form of tax farming or by an official called an *emin*.

**Müfettiş:** Inspector of finances for the *havass-ı hümayûn*.

**Mühimme defteri:** Register of outgoing orders (concerning important matters) of the *divân-ı hümayûn*. See *divan-i hümayun*.

**Mültezim:** Tax farmer; the holder of an *iltizam*. See *iltizam*.

**Müsellem:** Exempt from taxation; a group of auxilliary cavalrymen of *reaya* origin, enjoying full or part tax exemptions in return for military service. Such auxilliaris were abolished by the end of the sixteenth century.

**Naib:** Deputy of a judge or *kadı*.

**Nahiye:** A small and geographically defined administrative unit; a sub-division of a *kaza*.

**Narh:** The maximal price list of necessities, periodically established by a committee made up of the local *kadı*, *muhtesib*, and representatives of craft guilds.

**Nazır:** Inspector of a *vakıf* or a tax farm. See *Vakıf*.

**Nefer:** Individual taxpayer, normally refers to an adult male.

**Nişan:** Type of *berat* or diploma bearing the *sultan's tuğra*.

**Nüzul:** Provisions levy, imposed upon the *reaya*, on both Muslim and non-Muslims, on the basis of the fiscal *avâriz* household units, for provisioning food supply to the army or navy.

**Örf:** Sultanic law, often enshrining customary practice.

**Paşa:** Title added to personal names of *beylerbeyis* and *veziers*.

**Piyade:** Auxilliary foot-soldier, exempted from *avâriz* taxes, the organisation of foot-soldiers was abolished by the end of the sixteenth century.

**Reaya:** Non-*askerî*, tax-paying subjects of the Ottoman Empire, Muslim or non-Muslim, urban or rural.

**Resm-i çift:** Farm-tax, paid in cash by Muslim *reaya* who possessed either one *çift* or half a *çift* or less than half a *çift*.

**Sancak:** synonym of *liva*, sub-province.

**Sancakbeyi:** Governor of a sub-province or *sancak*.

**Sarıca:** A provincial militia equipped with firearms levied among Muslim *reaya* in Anadolu.



**Sekban:** Provincial mercenary organisation, equipped with firearms; an irregular soldier using with firearms; a regiment of janissaries.

**Sekban and sarıca:** Mercenaries using firearms in Anadolu.

**Seyyid:** One who claims to be descended from the Prophet Muhammad. See *Eşraf*.

**Sipahi:** Cavalryman, either a *timar* holder or a member of the standing palace cavalry regiments.(pl. Sipahis)

**Softa or suhta:** Student of religious school or *medrese*.

**Subaşı:** police chief in a town or city; the holder of a *zeamet*, commanding a detachment of *timar* holding *sipahis* in the provincial army.

**Sürsat:** Extraordinary tax levied in the form of obligatory enforced sales of peasant's provisions to the army, in pre-determined locations.

**Şeyh:** Religious leader and chief administrator of a dervish hospice; spiritual leader of a craft guild.

**Tahrir:** Registering; The Ottoman system of periodically surveying taxable resources during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

**Tahrir defteri:** Record of taxation survey.

**Tapu:** The right of proprietorship of a hereditary peasant over agricultural land, confirmed by payment of an entry fee (*tapu resmi*).

**Tekalif-i örfiye:** Customary levies.

**Tezkere:** Memorandum or note; certificates of one's authority or identification.

**Timar:** Military prebend or fief with an annual value of less than 20,000 *akçes*.

**Timar system:** Landholding system in which state tax revenues were surveyed and registered and assigned as grants called *timars*, in lieu of salary or other recompense to members of the Ottoman ruling class (military personnel, administrators and judges, and members of the sultan's household).

**Ulema:** Learned men; scholars of the Islamic sciences.

**Ulufe:** Salary in cash paid to members of the palace standing army corps.

**Ümera:** High-ranking military-administrative officials (sing. *emir*). See *emir*.

**Vakıf defteri:** Register of records of pious endowments.

**Vakıf or vakf:** Pious foundation; an endowed property or money of which revenue supports a religious or charitable purpose (pl. *evkaf*).

**Veled:** Son of (Kirkor, Sehrik...). Specifically used by non-Muslims. See Bin.

**Vilâyet:** Synonym of *eyâlet*; province.

**Voyvoda:** Deputy; a military-financial agent appointed by a governor or absentee *has*-holder to take care of the collection of his revenues in a *kaza* area.

**Yeniçeri:** Member of the Ottoman standing infantry corps recruited from the *devşirme* system for non-Muslims. See Janissary.

**Zaim:** Holder of a *zeamet*; also a term used for a town *subaşı*.

**Zeamet:** Amilitary prebend or fief with an annual value of less than 100,000 *akçes*.

**Zimmi:** non-Muslim subjects; A permanent resident of an Islamic state.(pl. *zimmis*)



## APPENDICES

### 1. *Ferman* for the carrying out of an *avâriz tahriri* in Menteşe and Siğla, addressed to Mevlâna Pir Mehmed

KK2576 *Maliye ahkam defteri* 1033-49/1633-40, pp. 47-49 [facsimile no.1]

The following document, although not concerned directly with the province of Karaman, is a good example of an imperial order containing instructions for the carrying out of an *avâriz tahriri*. Dated 1 Safer 1050/23 May 1640, it relates to a survey in the *sancaks* of Menteşe and Suğla almost contemporary with those of Kayseri and Konya in 1642.

#### Summary

To Mevlâna Pir Mehmed. A new survey is required for the said *sancaks* because certain Muslims, *zimmis* and (other tax-payers) are believed to have left the areas in which they were previously registered and have moved onto *evkaf* property, imperial *hass* and/or tax exempt towns and villages in order deliberately to evade paying *avâriz* and related dues, and *cizye*. This has (destroyed the balance of their previous *avârizhânes*) and caused hardship to the *reaya* left behind. It has also resulted in a fall in *cizye* payments and caused hardship to the state as a whole.

As a learned trustworthy man, you are appointed to re-survey the said *sancaks*. Record all those who claim exemption on certain exemptions, include all those who should be on the register but are currently excluded from it; investigate those who claim exemption but do no service in return. Note them according to their status as rich, middling or poor. All who claim exemption and whose service is of value to the state, maintain their status. Where villages have been ruined because of people leaving, reduce the number of *avârizhânes* to what can be afforded and no more. Do not force those who have left to return, but register them where they are now. Do not cause distress to any of the *reaya* or act unjustly. Send the completed survey to my seat of government for approval. No verifying documents can be issued to the *reaya* until the survey has been officially approved.

You are solely responsible for carrying out this *tahrir*. Note down those who have helped you and they will be rewarded. Do not protect anyone or pay special attention to them. Leave no one out of the register.

(Inşallahu teala tahrir için ferman -i alişan varid olduğunda virilen hükm-i şerifin mazmunudur.)

Iftihar'ul ulema'il muhakkikin muhtaru'l fudalâi'l-mudakkikin ma'de[nü]l-fazl vel-yakin el-muhtass bi-mezîd-i inâyeti'l meliki'l-mu'in sabıka 1 guruş elli akçe ile dahil-i mederese olan Mevlâna Pir Mehmed zidet fezâilihu tevkî-i refî-i hümâyûnum vâsil olıcak ma'lûm ola ki: memâlik-i mahrûsemde vâki' hâne-i avâriza dâhil olan müslimen ve zimmî ve harâcgüzâr keferre reâyası mücerred avâriz ve sâir tekâlîfe ve cizyelerin vermimek için kâdîmî sâkin oldukları yirlerinden kalkub evkâf-i selâtîn ve vüzerâ ve haremeyni's şerîfeyn ve havâss-i hümâyûnum ve serbest ve mu'af olan kasaba ve karyeler[d]e varub tavattun ve temekkün eylemeleriyle kadîmî hânelere kesr ve hazîne malına kullî noksan geldüğünden mâ'adâ hersene avâriz ve tekâlîf-i saire ve cizye cem'ine me'mur olanlar cem' ve tahsîlde ziyâde usret çeküb ol makûle kadîmî yerlerinden kalkub âhar yere vârub sâkin olan re'âyânin tekâlîfi dahi yerinde mevcud olanlara tahmil olunmakla re'âyâyâ kullî teâddî olduğu mesâmi'-i 'aliyye-i hüsvâneme ilkâ olunmağın imdi sen ehl-i ilm ve sahib-i fazîlet olduğundan gayri müstakim ve dîndâr ve muttaki ve perhîzkâr olduğın ecilden senin hüsn-ü tedbîrüne ve 'adâlet ve istikâmetine i'timâd-i şerîfim ve i'tikâd-i hümâyûnum olmağın Menteşe ve Suğla sancaklarında vaki harâcgüzâr zimmî re'âyâsi ve avârizhâneleri ber vech-i adâlet tahrir ve defter eylemek üzere muharrir olman bâbinda fermân-i âlişanim sâdir olmuşdur, buyurdum ki;

hükm-i şerîfim vusûl buldukda bu bâbda sâdir olan fermân-ı sa'âdetim üzere 'amel idub dahi kat'an tehir ve tevakkuf eylemeyüb zikr olunan sancaklarda vâki' zimmî re'âyâyı ve avârizhâneleri yerlü yerinde hak ve 'adl üzere teftîş ve tefahhus eyleyüb kadîmî cizye defterine ve avârizhânesine dâhil olanlardan mâ'adâ tahririne me'mur olduğun sancaklarda vâki' kasaba ve karyelerde sâkin olan piyade ve müsellemler tayifesin ve bedel-i gühercile viregelen mutekâidin ve tevabii tayifesin ve hâric ez defter ve bilâ-hidmet mu'âf ve müsellemler olanları ve hâric ez defter keferre tayifesin ve emred ve Murahik oğullarından kadîmî hâne-i avâriz ve cizye defterine dahil olanlar ile mean hak ve adl üzere âlâ ve evsât ve ednâ itibari ile tahammullerine göre isimleri ile hâne-i avâriz ve cizye defterlerine kayd eyleyub ve kadîmî köprücü ve derbendci ve menzilci ve sair mu'âf olanları hâlâ üzerlerine edâsi lâzım hizmetleri var ise edâ-yı hidmet etmeleri lâzım olub canîb-i



mîrîye ve fukarâya enfa' ise anun gibilerin üslûb-ı sâbik üzere ellerinde olan mu'âfnâmeleri mûcebince hâlleri üzere ibkâ eylesin ve illâ hizmetleri olmayub [p.49] mücerred mukaddema köprücü ve derbendci ve menzilci ve mütekâ'idin ve tekyenişîn ve zâviyedâran azadlu kul tayifesi ve sair tarîkle mu'âf olanların biz güherçile bedeli viruruz ve piyade ve müsellemler tayifesiyiz, piyade avâriz verimiz didiklerinde i'tibar eylemeyüb avârizhânesine kayd olacakları avârizhânesine ve cizye defterine kayd iyleyub minba'd hâric ez defter bir kimesne komayasın ve ba'zı karyelerin mukaddemâ hâne ve cizyeleri ziyâde olmağla perakende ve perişân olub harâbe olmağın hâneleri tahfif (tahkik?) olunmak lazim geldikde ol makûle karyeleri hâlâ kaç hâneye tahammülü var ise ona göre hakk ve 'adl üzere görüb tahammülleri olduğu mikdarı avârizhâneleri tahfif eyleyub ve tahfif olunan hâneleri tahammülleri olanlara tahmil eyleyüb kesr-i hânedan ve celb ü ahz-i maldan be-gayet ictinâb eylesin ve mukaddemâ kasaba ve karyelerinden kalkub âhar kasaba ve karyelere varub tavattun eyleyen re'âyâ ta'ifesi kalkub gideli zamân mürûr eylemekle kalkmakda 'usret çekerlerse ol makûleleri yerlerinden kaldurmayub hâlâ sâkin oldukları kasaba ve karyelerde hâne ve cizye kayd eylesin ve tevayif-i mezburdan olub müccerred avâriz ve sair tekâlif ve cizyeleri virmemek için evkâf-i selâtîn ve vüzerâ ve haremeyni's şerîfeyn ve sair evkâf ve serbest karyelerde varub tavattun eyleyenleri dikkat ve ihtimâm ile yerlû yerinden yoklayub bâlâda mestûr olduğu üzere yerlerinden kalkmak istemeyenlerin kaldurmayub hâlâ sâkin oldukları mahallât ve karyelerde avârizhânesine ve cizyeye kayd ve tahrir eylesin ve bi'l cümle eyyâm -i adâlet encâmından re'âyâ ve berâyâ ki vedâ'i-i hâlikül-berâyâdır bir ferde zûlm ve ta'addî olduğuna rizây-i şerîfim yokdur ana göre mukayyed olub câdde-i hakktan 'udul ve inhirâf eylemeyesin [tahrir] olunan [eyledüğün?] cizye ve avariz defterleri sihhat üzere tahrir olunduktan [eyledikten] sonra imzalayub ve mühürleyub südde-i sa'âdetime gönderesin ki menzûr-i âlişânım olunub makbûl-i hümâyûnım olmayınca tahrir eylediğin kasaba ve karyeler ahalisine temessük vermeyesin ve bi'l-cümle zikr olunan sancaklarda vâkî avârizhânelerinin ve cizye hânelerinin tahriri müstakil sana sipâriş olunub ve sadakattus istikamet ile husûle gelmesi senden bilünür şöyle ki ber vech-i 'adâlet tahrîr ve defter eylemekle cizye ve avârizhânelerinin izdiyadına bâ'is olasin; zuhûra gelen say' ve hizmetin zâyî' olmayub me'mul ve melhuzundan kesiretü'l-berakâtıma mazhar olmanı mukarrer

bilesin ve bu bâbda şükr [temessük?] ve şikâyetin ve arz-i cevâbın makbûl-i hümayûnum ve mesmu-i şerifimdir tahrîr husûsunda sana mu'âvenet eyleyenleri arz-u ilâm eylediğin takdirce hizmetleri zâyî' kılınmayub 'arzın mücebince her biri hallerine göre behremend ve riayet olunurlar. Mâni' ve müzâhim olanların kezâlik 'arzin mücebince şerle haklarından gelünür. Elhâsıl hîn-i tahrirde kimesney' himâyet ve bir şahsi ri'âyet eylemeyüb cümlesin yazub defter iyleyüb kat'a haric ez defter bir kimesne komayasin ve bilcümle yazduğun hâne ve cizye defterlerin rikâb-i hümayûnuma arz olunub makbûl-i hümayûnum olmayınca kimesneye temessük vermeyüb fermân-i şerifeme muhalif vaz'in irtikabından hazer eylesün ve lazim-i arz olan mevaddi yazub bâb-i saadet-meabıma arz ve ilâm eyleyüb ahsen vechile itmam-i hizmetde bezl-i makdûr ve say-i nâ-mahzûr eylesin tahrîren fi gurre-i şehr-i Saferu'l hayr sene hamsin ve elf (1 Safer 1050/23 May 1640).



## 2. Hüküm ordering investigation of claims to exemption from *avâriz* levies, addressed to all *kadıs* in Karaman province

Included to show types of instruction to *kadıs* relating to exemption claim on grounds of being one of the following: *haric-ez defter*, *tekyenişin*, *zaviyedar*, *abd-i mu'tak* and *sipahizade*. [Facsimile no.2]

1 Zilhicce 1086/16 February 1676

MM 3830 *Anadolu ve Rumeli eyâletleri avârizhâneleri defteri* 1086/1676, p. 40-1.

Eyâlet-i Karamanda vaki kadılara hüküm ki;

Bundan akdem eyâlet-i Karamanda vaki olan mevkuf reaya ki tahrir dahi olmayan ve tekyenişin ve zaviyedar ve abd-i mu'tak ve sipahizade vs bu misullu haric ez defter olub avâriz ve nüzul hânesine bağlı olmayub tekalif-i örfiyeden muaf olanların herbiri eyâlet-i mezburede kasabat ve mahallatda ve bazi kurada birer ikişer nefer adem bulunub müstakil tahrir ve deftere tahammulu olmamakla bervec-i tahmin 120.000 akçe mukataa olmak üzere eyâlet-i mezburede vaki olan barut-i siyah karhânesine ocaklık bağlanub lakin karaman defterdarları kasabat ve kura ve mahallattan avâriz ve nüzul hânesine bağlı olan reaya üzerine ziyade ademler tayin edub canibinizde haric-ez defter ve tekyenişin ve zaviyedar ve abd-i mu'tak ve sipahizade vs bu makule mevkuf reaya varmış deyu teftiş ve bahâne ile defterli olan reayaya yem ve yemliklerin müft ve meccanen çekdirub ahz ve celb için ziyade teaddi ve tecavüz eylediklerin bundan akdem divan-i hümayuna arz-i hal olundukda ref' olunub barut ocaklığı için gayri maldan havale olunmuş idi birkaç sene bu minval üzere ref' olunub meskût anhu iken sabika divan-i hümayunda vezaretle bas defterdar olub hala vali-i misir olan vezirim Ahmed ademallahu teala iclalehu eyâlet-i karamanda kasabat [ve] kuradan murur eylediğinden balada tahrir olunduğu üzere avâriz ve nüzul hânesine bağlı olan defterli reayadan ve ayan-i vilayetten mutemedunaleyh ademlerden hakikatini sual eyledikde olmikdar haric-ez defter ve tekyenişin ve zaviyedar ve abd-i mu'tak ve sipahizade namiyle reaya olanların başka rusuma iktidarlari olmayub kasabat ve mahallattan ve kurada defterli reaya ile mahluta ve müstakil tahrir tahammulu olmadığından gayri hala dahi karhâne ref' olunmağın ol makuleler bulunduklari mahalde avâriz ve nüzul hânelerine imdat itmek üzere defter-i mevkufatta kayd olunub mukaddima olan 120.000 akçe maktulari baş muhasebeden ref' olunmak babında arz ve ilan etmekle husus-i mezbur terhis olunub arz olundukda vech-i

mezkur üzere amel olunub emr-i şerif verilmek ferman olmağın mahalli ref olduğu asil fermani basmuhasabede hifz olunub olmakuleler bulunduklari mahalde avâriz ve nüzul hânelerine imdat eyleyeler deyu mevkufat kalemine dahi kayd ve vech-i meşruh üzere emr-i şerif yazdirmek için baş muhasebeden tezkire verildi fi gurre-i zilhicce sene 1086.



3. Extracts from *Anadolu ve Rumeli eyâletleri avârizhâne defterleri*, 1621-1699

3.1 KK2751 *Anadolu ve Rumeli avârizhâneleri defteri* 1030/1620-21

This is the earliest *avârizhâne* register used for this study. The text is laid out here in the format of the original *defter* [pp. 91-97].

*Der Vilâyet- i Karaman*  
**Der Liva-i Konya**

Kaza-i Konya Hâne 304	K. Kureyş hâne 14.5	K. Aladağ hâne 27	K. Pirluganda hâne 21.5	K. Belviran hâne 48.25	K. Gaferyad hâne 36	K. Eskiil hâne 16
K. Akçaşehir Hâne 9.5	K. Insuyu hâne 13.5	K. Larenden hâne 101				
<b>Yekün</b> Hâne 590.75						

**Der Liva-i Niğde**

Kaza-i ürgüç Hâne 110	K. Anduğu hâne 41.5	K. Sücaeddin hâne 17.5	K. Koçhisar hâne 45.5	K. Develü hâne 50	K. Niğde hâne 277.5	K. Bor hâne 46.5	K. Çamardı hâne 13.25
<b>Yekün</b> Hâne 601.75							

**Der Liva-i Akşehir**

Kaza-i Ilgın Hâne 105.5	K. Ishaklı hâne 51	K. Akşehir hâne 90	K. Doğanhisari hâne 44
<b>Yekün</b> Hâne 290.5			

**Der Liva-i Beyşehir**

Kaza-i Beyşehir Hâne 123	K. Kucu-i Kebir hâne 25	K. Yenişehir hâne 41	K. Kirili hâne 72	K. Bozkır hâne 56.5	K. Seydişehir hâne 112
<b>Yekün</b> Hâne 429.5					

Der Liva-i Kirşehir

Kaza-i Kirşehir	K. Konur	K.Hacibektaş	K.Süleymanlu-u kebir	K. Keskun
Hâne	hâne	hâne	hâne	hâne
65.5	10.5	33	70	40

Yekün  
Hâne  
224

Der Liva-i Aksaray

Kaza-i Aksaray	K. Eyübili
Hâne	hâne
100.5	68.5

Yekün  
Hâne  
169

Der Liva-i Kayseriye

Kaza-i Kayseriye	K. Karahisar ve Yahyalar
Hâne	hâne
340	80

Yekün  
Hâne  
420

Der Liva-i İçil

Kaza-i Silifke	K. Bozdoğan	K. Sarıkavak	K. Küre-i nuri	K. Mamuriye ve Anamur	K. Zeyne	K. Mud
Hâne	hâne	hâne	hâne	hâne	hâne	hâne
30	17	15	6	23	8	14

Kaza-i Sinanlı	K. Ermenak	K. Selendi	K.Gülner	K. Karitaş	K. Avgadi
Hâne	hâne	hâne	hâne	hâne	hâne
20	50	48	30	15	18

Yekün  
Hâne  
294



### 3.2 MM3074 [*Karaman Eyâleti*] *Konya livası mufassal avâriz tahrir defteri* 1051-52/1641-42, p. 4

The following extract shows the varying numbers of gerçekhânes to be included in one avârizhâne (See above Chapter 2). [Facsimile 3]

Kayseriye kadisi olan Mevlâna Şerci dailerinin müceddiden tahririne me'mur olduğu avârizhânelerinden kühercileye ocaklık olan Bor ve Sücaaddin kazalari ve kükürde ocaklık olan nefsinde maada Aksaray kazasi ve avârizhânesi olub tahrir olmayan Koçhisar kazasi ve mevkufat defterlerinde hâneleri olmayan Ereğli ve Turgud Karaman ve Bayburd ve Karaman kazalarından maada Konya ve Niğde ve Bekşehir ve Akşehir ve Aksaray sancaklarının menzilciyan ile kaydetmelerin 1741 hâneleri olub ve zikr olunan sancaklarda vaki güherçile viregelen reayadan ancak 30 nefer haric reaya kayd olunmuşdur deyu ilam ederum haliya virduğu deftere bazı kazanin 14 neferine bir hâne ve bazı kazanin 13 neferine bir hâne ve bazı kazanin 12 neferine bir hâne ve bazılarının 11 ve 10 ve 9 neferlerine 1 hâne hesabi üzere ki cem'an menzilciyan hâneleri ile 22003 nefer reaya 1945 hâne kayd idub alessaviye hesab olundukda 11 nefere bir hâne olur bu takdirce menzilhânesinden maada asilhânedan 206 hâne ziyadesi olur emr ve ferman saadetlu sultanum hazretlerininindir.

**3.3 MM7063 *Kayseri livası mufassal avâriz tahrir defteri* 1051-1052/1642,  
p. 1**

For significance of this text, see above Chapter 2. [Facsimile 4]

Arz-i bende-i bimikdar budur ki,  
Kayseriye sancağı mukaddema 388 hâne iken bundan akdem Kayseriye kadısı  
olan Mevlâna Şerci daileri 13000 bin reayaya beşyüz.... Avarizhânesi kayd  
iylemekle tekrar tahriri Cebeciler katibi Cafer efendi ve Kenan Ağa kullari  
ferman-i ali üzere tahrir iylediklerinde 13000 nefer reaya defter olunmağla ikibin  
nefer ziyadesi olub henüz hânesi tayin olmamışdır lakin reayasi ziyade fakir'il hal  
olmağla her 15 neferine bir hâne kayd olunmak rica ider bu babda emr'u ferman  
sultanim hazretlerininindir



## CHRONOLOGY

### An outline chronology of Ottoman history, 1481-1703

The chronology below has been compiled as a framework in which to place the *avâriz*-related developments discussed in this study. It is not intended to provide a full listing of prominent 'political' events. It notes relevant 15<sup>th</sup>- and 16<sup>th</sup>-century *tapu tahrir* compilations and the administrative divisions of the province with which these dealt. The *defters* are listed according to their date of compilation in both *hicri* and AD years. Other events are in AD dating only.

**Bold:** Sultans

*Italic:* defters/documents

Ordinary: the rest

#### **1481            Accession of Bayezid II**

888/1483      *Kayseri livası mufasssal timar defteri* (TT38)

1485-1491    War with Mamluks of Egypt

899/1493      *Mufasssal defteri of Konya livası* (TT40)

Bayezid II    *Mufasssal defteri of Karaman vilâyeti* (TT31: *Ermenek, Gülnar, Mud, Silifke etc.*)

Bayezid II    *Mufasssal defteri of Karaman vilâyeti* (TT32: *Eskiil, Aksaray*)

Bayezid II    *Mufasssal defteri of Karaman vilâyeti* (TT46: *Urgüb, Karahisar, Develu, Koçhisar*)

Bayezid II    *Mufasssal defteri of Niğde livası* (TT42)

906/1500      *Mufasssal defteri of Kayseri livası* (TT33)

906/1500      *Mufasssal defteri of Konya livası* (TT40)

1499-1503    War with Venice

#### **1512            Selim I**

1514           Selim defeats Shah Ismail of Iran at Caldiran

922/1516      *Timar-icmal defteri of Karaman vilâyeti* (TT58)

1516           Defeat of Mamluks at Battle of Marj Dabık

1517           Battle of Ridaniyye, and the conquest of Egypt; beginning of Ottoman rule in the Islamic holy places, the submission of the sharif of Mecca.

- 924/1518 *Mufasssal defteri of Karaman vilâyeti* (TT63: *Konya, Nefs-i Konya, Sahra, Hatunsaray, Belviran, Ereğli, Karacadağ*)
- Selim I *Mufasssal defteri of İçil livasi* (TT83)
- 1520 Süleyman I (Kanunî)**
- 1521 Conquest of Belgrade
- 1522 Conquest of Rhodes
- 929/1522 *Timar icmal defteri of Karaman eyâleti* (TT 118: *Hamidili, Niğde, Beyşehir, Kayseri and İçil*)
- 929/1522 *Timar icmal defteri of Karaman eyâleti* (TT 119: *Konya, Larende, Beysehari*)
- 929/1522? *Mufasssal defteri of Karaman eyâleti* (TT387: *Karaman vilayet Kanunnamesi, Vilayet-I Rum Kanunnamesi, Konya, Niğde, İçil, Kayseri, Erzurum*)
- 929/1522 *Timar and zeamet tevcih defteri of Karaman eyâleti* (TT 392)
- 930/1523 *The compilation of the extant Timar Icmal defteri of Karaman eyâleti* (TT 371: *Kayseri, Akşehir, Aksaray and Niğde*)
- 1526 Battle of Mohaç
- 1529 The first siege of Vienna
- 1534 Conquest of Tabriz and Baghdad
- 943/1536 *Mufasssal defteri of İçil livasi* (TT182)
- 944/1537 *Timar icmal defteri of Karaman eyâleti* (TT 188: *Konya, Beyşehir, Kayseri, Niğde, Aksaray, İçil, Akşehir and Larende*)
- 1537-1540 War with Venice
- Kanunî *Timar icmal defteri of Karaman eyâleti* (TT 392: *Konya, Larende, Beyşehir, İçil, Aksaray, Niğde, Kayseri*)
- Kanunî *Timar-evkaf mufasssal defteri of Konya livası* (TT399)
- 946/1539 *Mufasssal defteri of Konya livası* (TT415)
- 1541 Annexation of Hungary and establishment of Budin Beylerbeyliği
- Kanunî *Mufasssal defteri of Karaman eyâleti* (TT455: *Konya livası, Konya, Sahra, Hatunsaray, Insuyu, Zengicik, Saidili, Aladağ, Larende, Belviran, Ereğli, Akşehir, Ishaklu, Çimenili, Ilgun, Aksaray, Develu, Karahisar, Ürgüb,*



*Seydişehir*)

1543 Earthquake in north-central Anatolia.

958/1551 *Mufassal tahrir defteri of İçil livası* (TT272)

1553-1555 War with Iran and the Treaty of Amasya

1554 *Mufassal tahrir defteri of Tokat* (TT 287)

1565 Siege of Malta

**1566 Selim II**

1566-1587 Continuation of the rebellious movements of *medrese* students (*suhtas*).

1569 General survey (*tahrir*) in the province of Rûm.

**1574 Murad III**

1574 *Mufassal tahrir defteri of Tokat* (TK 14)

1578-1590 Thirteen-year-war with Iran.

1579 Earthquake in north-central Anatolia.

989/1581 *Timar-ruzmançe defteri of Karaman eyâleti* (TT599: Konya, Niğde, Kayseri, Beyşehir, Aksaray, Akşehir, Kırşehir)

991/1583 *Icmal tahrir defteri of Aksaray livası* (TT131: Aksaray, Eyübilî, Hasandağı, Bekir, Koçhisar)

992/1584 *Mufassal tahrir defteri of Aksaray livası* (TT131: Aksaray, Eyübilî, Hasandağı, Bekir, Koçhisar)

991/1583 *Icmal tahrir defteri of Akşehir livası* (TT146: Akşehir, Doğanhisari, çimenili, Ishaklu, Ilgun)

992/1584 *Mufassal tahrir defteri of Akşehir livası* (TT146: Akşehir, Doğanhisari, çimenili, Ishaklu, Ilgun)

992/1584 *Mufassal tahrir defteri of Beyşehir livası* (TT137: Guci, Kırili, Cezire, Yenişehir, Bagan, Balasun, Kaşaklu, Gargarum, Bozkır)

991/1583 *Icmal tahrir defteri of Beyşehir livası* (TT298: Guci, Kırili, Cezire, Yenişehir, Bagan, Balasun, Kaşaklu, Gargarum, Bozkır)

992/1584 *Mufassal tahrir defteri of İçil livası* (TT128: Ermenek, Selendi, Anamur, Gülnar, Silifke, Karıtaş, Mud, Sinanlı, Bozdoğan)

991/1583 *Icmal tahrir defteri of Kayseri livası* (TT317: Kayseri, Sahra, Koramaz,

- Cebel-i Ali, Kenarırmak, Karakaya, Karataş, Malya, Islamlu, Köstere)*
- 992/1584 *Mufasssal tahrir defteri of Kayseri livası* (TT136: Kayseri, Sahra, Koramaz, Cebel-i Ali, Kenarırmak, Karakaya, Karataş, Malya, Islamlu, Köstere)
- 991/1583 *Icmal tahrir defteri of Kırşehir livası* (TT330: Kırşehir, Hacibektaş, Süleymanlu, Konur, Günyüzü, Dikek, Keskin, Çiçekdağı)
- 992/1584 *Mufasssal tahrir defteri of Kırşehir livası* (TT: Kırşehir, Hacibektaş, Süleymanlu, Konur, Günyüzü, Dikek, Keskin, Çiçekdağı)
- 992/1584 *Mufasssal tahrir defteri of Konya livası* (TT104, vol.1: Konya, Sahra, Hatunsaray, Saidili, Sudiremi, Larende)
- 992/1584 *The compilation of the mufasssal tahrir defteri of Konya livası* (TT113, vol.2: Kaş, Belviran, Aladağ, Ereğli, Kelsime, Tund, Bağbad, Karacadağ, Ada, Mondos)
- 991/1583 *Icmal tahrir defteri of Konya livası* (TT316: Konya, Sahra, Saidili, Hatunsaray, Sudiremi, Aladağ, Belviran, Larende, Kaş, Ereğli, Bağbad, Karacadağ, Tund, Ada, Kelsime, Atyemescidi, Ak-öyük, Mendos, Turgud, Insuyu, Zengicek, Kureyş)
- 992/1584 *Mufasssal tahrir defteri of Niğde livası* (TT135: Niğde, Melikumi, Melendiz, Karmelek, Şamardi, Bor, Sucaeddin, Anduğu, ürgüb, üçhisar, Karahisar, Develu)
- 1590 Earthquake in north-central Anatolia.
- 1000/1591 *Mufasssal tahrir defteri of Karaman eyâleti* (TT636: Konya, Turgut, Mahmudlar, Insuyu, Karişözü, Eskiil, Bayburd)
- 1593-1606 Thirteen-year-war with Austria and Hungary.
- 1595 Mehmed III**
- 1596 Eğri campaign and the battle of Mezö-keresztes (Haçova).
- 1596-1603 Emergence of the Great *Celâlîs* in Anatolia and the rebellions of Karayazıcı and Deli Hasan in central and south-eastern Anatolia.



**1603 Ahmed I**

- 1603-1612 Resumed wars with Iran.
- 1603-1606 “The Great Flight” (*Büyük Kaçgunluk*).
- 1603-1607 The rebellion of the Canbuladoğlus in south-eastern Anatolia.
- 1604-1608 The rebellions of Tavi Halil, Ağaçtan Pirî, Meymun, Kalenderoğlu Mehmed and Kara Said in north-central, central and western Anatolia.
- 1609 The end of the Great *Celâlî* Rebellions.
- 1609 Ayn-ı Ali compiles his *Kavânin*.
- 1615-1616 Military campaign against Iran.

**1617 Mustafa I**

- 1617-1618 Another campaign against Iran and the new treaty in 1619.

**1618 Osman II**

- 1621 Military campaign against Poland (*Hotin Seferi*).
- 1622 Assassination of Osman II and re-accession of Mustafa I to the throne.

**1623-1640 Murad IV**

- 1623-1624 The first revolt of Abaza Mehmed Paşa, the governor-general of Erzurum, in Eastern and Central Anatolia.
- 1624 The rebellion of Cennetoğlu in western Anatolia.
- 1624-1639 War with Iran, fall of Baghdad
- 1625-1626 Military campaign against Iran (Baghdad Seferi).
- 1627-1628 The second revolt of Abaza Mehmed Paşa in eastern and central Anatolia.
- 1629-1631 Another campaign against Iran.
- 1631 Koçi Bey submits his *risâle* to Murad IV.
- 1632-1633 *Timar* reform and general *timar*-inspection throughout Anatolia.
- 1632 The rebellion of İlyas Paşa in western Anatolia.
- 1632 Murad IV takes full control of the state affairs
- 1633 Military campaign (*Şark Seferi*) against Iran.
- 1634 Murad IV’s military campaign to Poland and his return to İstanbul without war.

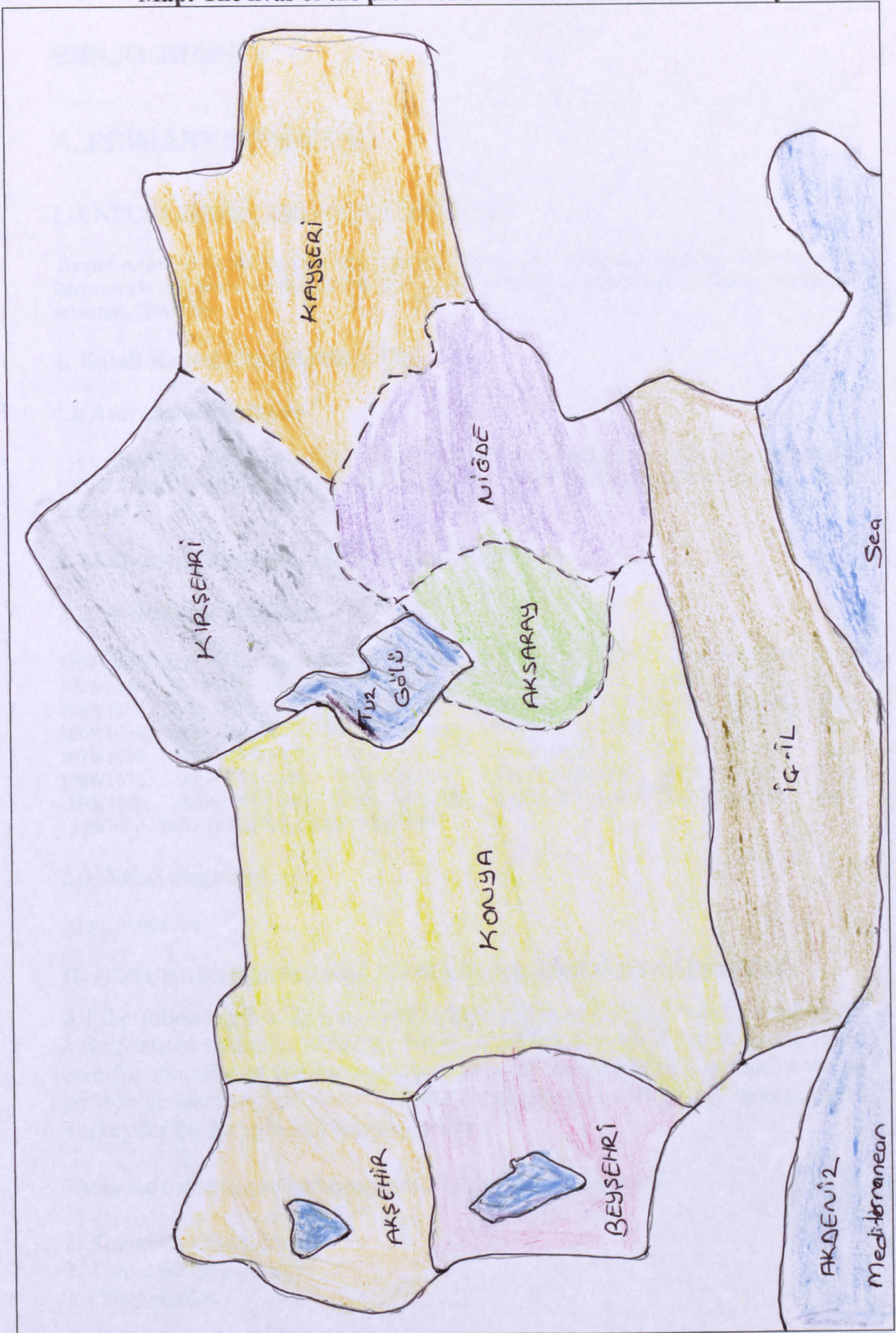
- 1635 Murad IV's Revan/Erivan Seferi against Iran, and the seige of Erivan.
- 1046/1636 *Timar-icmal defteri of İçil and Alaiye livası* (TT765)
- 1637 Grand *vezir* Bayram Paşa's preparation in Anatolia for the campaign against Iran.
- 1638-1639 Murad IV's military campaign against Iran (*Bağdad Seferi*). Retaking of Bagdad and the treaty of Kasr-i Şirin.
- 1640-1648 İbrahim I**
- 1640 Koçi Beğ submits another set of reports (*telhises*) to İbrahim.
- 1641-1642 *General provincial surveys in Anatolia and the compilation of the detailed avâriz defterleri of Kayseri and Konya* (MAD 7063 and MAD 3074)
- 1641-1642 *The compilation of the detailed avâriz and cizye defterleri of the city of Tokat* (TT 772 and MAD 2533)
- 1052/1642 *The compilation of the detailed avâriz defteri of Amasya* (TT776)
- 1052/1642 *The compilation of the detailed avâriz defteri of Erzurum vilâyeti* (MAD 5152)
- 1645-1669 War with Venice, conquest of Crete, and the siege of Candia
- 1648-1656 Venetian blockade of the Dardanelles
- 1648 Depositon and assassination of İbrahim I
- 1648-1687 Mehmed IV(Avci)**
- 1648-1651 Child sultan's grand-mother Kösem (Kösem Valide Sultan) intereferes in the state's affairs.
- 1649-1651 Janissary dominance in Istanbul and *Celâlî* pashas in the Anadolu
- 1651-1655 Disorder in Istanbul, Venetian blockade continues
- 1656 Köprülü Mehmed Paşa appointed grand *vezir*
- 1656-1659 Re-establishment of the central government's control over the Janissaries in Istanbul and in the provinces
- 1657 Lifting of Venetian blockade
- 1661-1676 Köprülü Fazil Ahmed Paşa's grand vezirate
- 1663 War with Habsburgs



1664	Battle of Saint Gotthard, peace treaty of Vasvar with Habsburgs
1079/1668	The compilation of the <i>icmal bedel-i avâriz defteri</i> of <i>Karaman eyâleti</i> (MAD2780)
1669	Fall of Candia, peace with Venice
1672-76	War with Poland
1676-1683	Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Paşa's grand vezirate
1683	Second seige of Vienna
1684	Holy League against the Ottomans between the Habsburg emperor, Polish king and Venice
1686	Fall of Buda, Russia joins the Holy league against the Ottomans; Venetians in the Morea
1687	Second battle of Mohaç, army's rebellion; deposition of Mehmed IV
<b>1687</b>	<b>Süleyman II</b>
1688	Fall of Belgrade
1689	Austrians at Kosovo; Russian attack the Crimea
1689-1691	Köprülü Fazıl Mustafa Paşa's grand vezirate; tax reforms
1690	Recovery of Belgrade from Austrians
<b>1691</b>	<b>Ahmed II</b>
1691	Battle of Slankamen; death of Fazıl Mustafa Paşa
<b>1695-1703</b>	<b>Mustafa II</b>
1696	Ottoman counter attack in Hungary
1697	Ottoman defeat at Zenta
1698	Köprülü Hüseyin's grand vezirate
1699	Treaty of Karlowitz
1700	Peace with Russia
1703	Army rebellion; deposition of Mustafa II
<b>1703</b>	<b>Ahmed III</b>



Map: The livas of the province of Karaman in the 17<sup>th</sup>-century





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##### 1. Kamil Kepeci Classification[KK]

###### 1.a *Avârizhâne* Registers

2587-1050/1640, 2604-1053/1643, 2623-1065/1655, 2625-1067/1657, 3810-1070/1660, 3354-1074-75/1665, 2651-1080/1670, 2790-1082/1672, 2659-1084/1674, 2665-1086/1676, 3809-1089/1679.

##### 2. Maliyeden Müdevver Classifications[MM]

###### 2. a *Avârizhâne* Registers

2751-1030/1621, 3382-1050/1640, 3845-1051/1641, 3074-1051-52/1642, 2808-1055/1645, 3832-1058/1648, 3835-1057-59/1649, 4950-1060/1650, 2780-1061/1651, 1980-1061/1651, 3844-1062/1652, 2989-1064/1654, 3847-1066/1656, 3850-1067-68/1658, 2998-1068/1658, 2749-1068/1658, 2653-1080/1670, 7857-1080/1670, 3067-1073-74/1664, 2783-1075/1665, 3836-1078/1668, 3003-1081/1671, 3834-1081/1671, 2412-1083/1673, 2505-1085/1675, 3841-1088/1678, 3837-1090/1680, 3830-1091/1681, 9480-1096/1686, 2805-1097/1687, 2800-1098/1688, 3839-1098/1688, 2793-1103/1691, 2471-1104/1692, 2987-1106/1694, 3807-1108/1696, 3820-1111/1699, 3826-1112/1700

###### 2. b *Nüzul* Registers

3862-1038/1628

#### II- UNPUBLISHED THESIS CONTAINING PRIMERY MATERIAL

All the following BA, MA and PhD dissertations and theses were consulted for *avâriz*-related material. Although not all included relevant detail, they are listed here for the sake of completeness and to show the extent of essential work on *şer'iyye sicilleri* and other 17<sup>th</sup> -century registers currently being carried out in Turkey for the Kayseri and Konya regions.

These are listed in chronological order of the *sicils* concerned

1. *Kayseri şer'iyye sicilleri*
2. *Konya şer'iyye sicilleri*
3. Other studies

## 1. The *Şer'iyye Sicilleri* of Kayseri

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## FACSIMILES









Handwritten table with columns for names and amounts, likely a financial record or inventory list.

Handwritten notes and signatures below the first table, including a date and a signature.

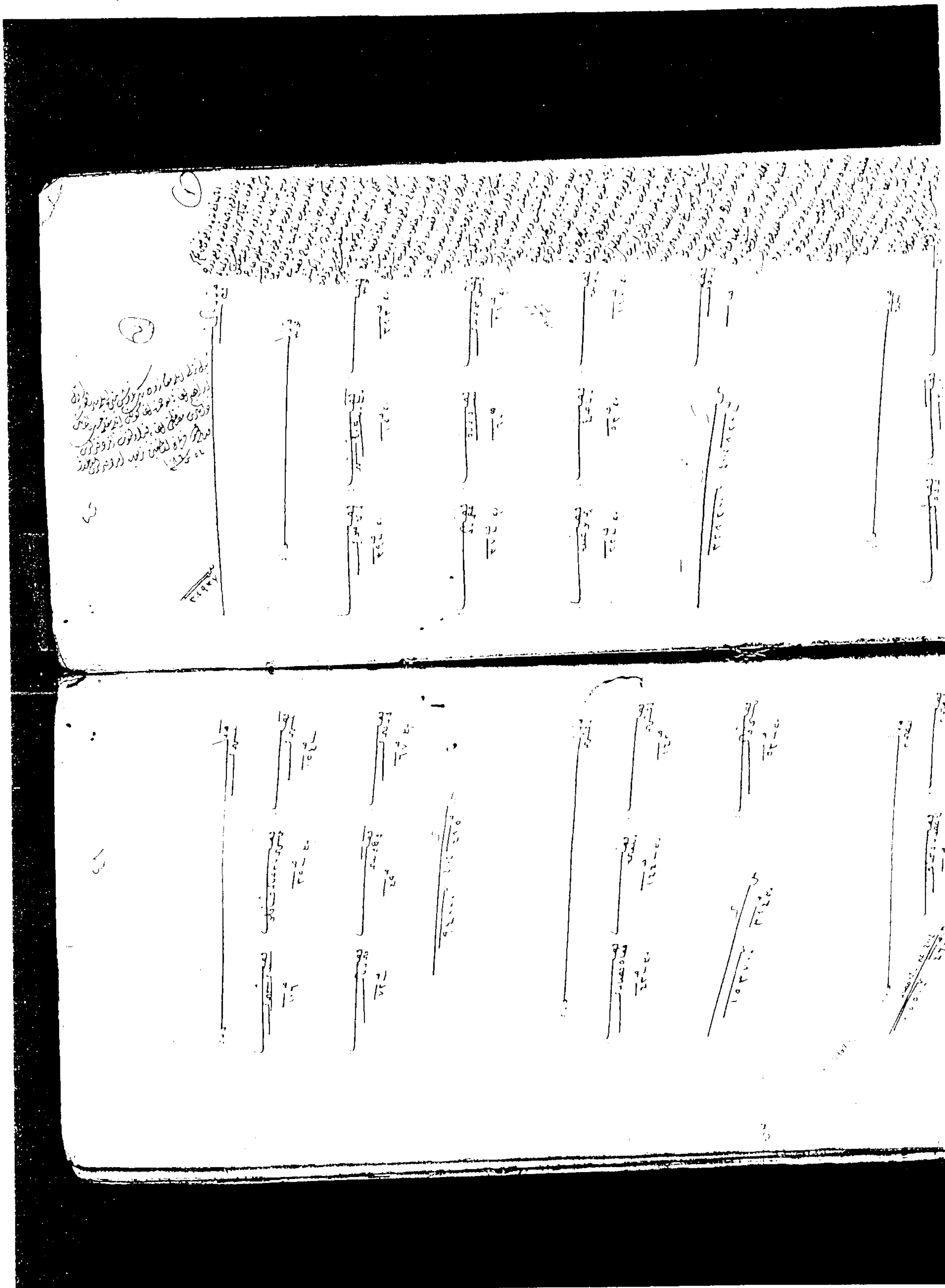
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Main body of the handwritten text, consisting of several paragraphs in Ottoman Turkish script, detailing administrative or financial matters.





Handwritten musical notation on a page, featuring multiple staves with notes and lyrics in Ottoman Turkish script. The notation includes various musical symbols and clefs, and the lyrics are written in a cursive script. The page is divided into several sections by horizontal lines.

Handwritten musical notation on a page, featuring multiple staves with notes and lyrics in Ottoman Turkish script. The notation includes various musical symbols and clefs, and the lyrics are written in a cursive script. The page is divided into several sections by horizontal lines.

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Handwritten musical notation on a page, featuring multiple staves with notes and lyrics in Ottoman Turkish script. The notation includes various musical symbols and clefs, and the lyrics are written in a cursive script. The page is divided into several sections by horizontal lines.



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[illegible]

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$\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{4}$

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 لوه نفوه بر جانه نبره  
 رقم  
 لادرو  
 ۱۹۶  
 ۱۴۱۸  
 ۱۴۶۰  
 لوه نفوه بر جانه نبره  
 رقم  
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 لوه نفوه بر جانه نبره

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 اوده نوره برهان قندار لیست

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دوره  
۲۰۸

مجموعه  
۳۵۷

ارده و دره کبک نوق و ارزند

ارده بنو رضان اردکستر



الحمد لله الذي جعلنا من ذرية نبي  
محمد وآله الطيبين الطاهرين  
الذين هم خير خلق الله  
أجمعين

الحمد لله الذي جعلنا من ذرية نبي  
محمد وآله الطيبين الطاهرين  
الذين هم خير خلق الله  
أجمعين

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الذين هم خير خلق الله  
أجمعين

نصيريه قاضى ولان مولانا شري داعيلرتيك مجدد الخيرية  
نماورا ولدوني عوارض خانه لوندن كوه جلده به او جافاق اولان  
بور و سجاج الدين قضايري وكوكره او جافاق اولان نفسدن  
ماعد اقراي قضايبى وعوارض خانه سي ولوب خجريا ولييات  
قوجطار قضايبى وموقوفات دفتر لوندن حاندر لريا وليان ارطلى  
وطوغود قرمان ولبايبورد قرمان قضايرندن ماعد قونية وكده  
وكيشري واقشهر واقراي سنجاقلرتيك سترليمان ابله قندك  
بيك بديوز فرق بر خانه لري اولوب وذكراولان سنجاقلرده  
واقع كوه جلده وده كلان رعابادان انجى او تور نفر خارج رعابا  
فيدا و غنمدر و بحاليا وددكي دفتره بعض قضايتك اون دور  
نفرينه برخانه وبعض قضايتك اون اوچ نفرينه برخانه وبعض  
قضايتك اون بكي نفرينه برخانه و بعض قضايتك اون برواون وطغوز  
نفرينه برخانه حاجي دزده كه سبعا سترليمان خانه لري ابله بكرى  
اكي بكي اوچ نفر رعابا به بيك طغوز بور قرق ستر خانه فيدايدوب  
علي القبه حاب اولنقده اون بر نفع برخانه اولور نو قندريه  
منزل خانه سندن ماعد اسل خانه دن ايك بور اني خانه زياده سي  
اولور امر و فرمان سعادتوسلطام حصرتلرتيك

الحمد لله الذي جعلنا من ذرية نبي  
محمد وآله الطيبين الطاهرين  
الذين هم خير خلق الله  
أجمعين

الحمد لله الذي جعلنا من ذرية نبي  
محمد وآله الطيبين الطاهرين  
الذين هم خير خلق الله  
أجمعين



و توفیق خدایه اولمیان قریه و علم اوردی امر ثانوی الیه  
دما نده عوارضی وضع اوردی زین فتنه قید و مضرب حتی

3. 11. 1955

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فرمانك خانه و عمارت خرد بریده و امور اولان موازات شرعی دایلی  
دفتر او نه و بیالویه مزوره تاج بعضی قریب لک و محلات یک  
حضرته قریب و مغله و اسلوب سابق او زره و طلا و لوب و بعضی لیک  
و قنداقا خانه لری و اراکین بلا خدمت معاف و لوب و بعضی لیک  
دخی خدمت لری شی قلیل اولوب و لوقوله بلا خدمت معاف اولدره  
و خدمتی شی قلیل اولدره حالیا خانه عمارت و یرمک او زره سایر  
لک خدمت معاف و مسلم اولق و طبله خانه قیداد و ب قرق چوق  
خانه و مستند و قنداقا زاده و اولان ایلمور و التي خانه ایلمو ایلمو  
قرق بدی چوق خانه زاده حی و لور و عله قنداقا و لوب حفظ اولق  
عاید و امر و قرات سلطانم حضرت لری نگید

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طباغ خانه

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قند در خانه

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عرض بنده بمقدار بود در که  
قصیده سنجایی مقدما او حیو ز سکن اسکر حانه  
ایکن بودند اقد قصیده فاضلی اولان مولانا شرح  
و اعلمی که در این قصیده که در این کتابت نفیر رعایا به بشوز  
و عوارض خاندانی و بیایان و نگرار و تحریری جبهه  
سلطانی جعفر افندی و سلطان اما قولی فرمان عالی  
از این قصیده که در این اوج بیک نفیر رعایا دفتر  
اولمغه ایکی بیک نفیر زیاده سی و لوب هنور حانه سی  
تعیین اولما مشدد لکن رعایا سی زیاده فقیر الحال  
اولمغه هر او بش نفیریه بر حانه قید اولمغه رحا ایدر  
ریا بیده امر و فرمان سلطانه حاضر نمیکدر



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا  
الذي كنا لنهتدي لولا أن هدانا الله

والصلاة والسلام على  
سيدنا محمد وآله الطيبين  
الطاهرين

والله اعلم بالصواب

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سيدنا محمد وآله الطيبين  
الطاهرين

# Facsimile 5 (MM 3003)

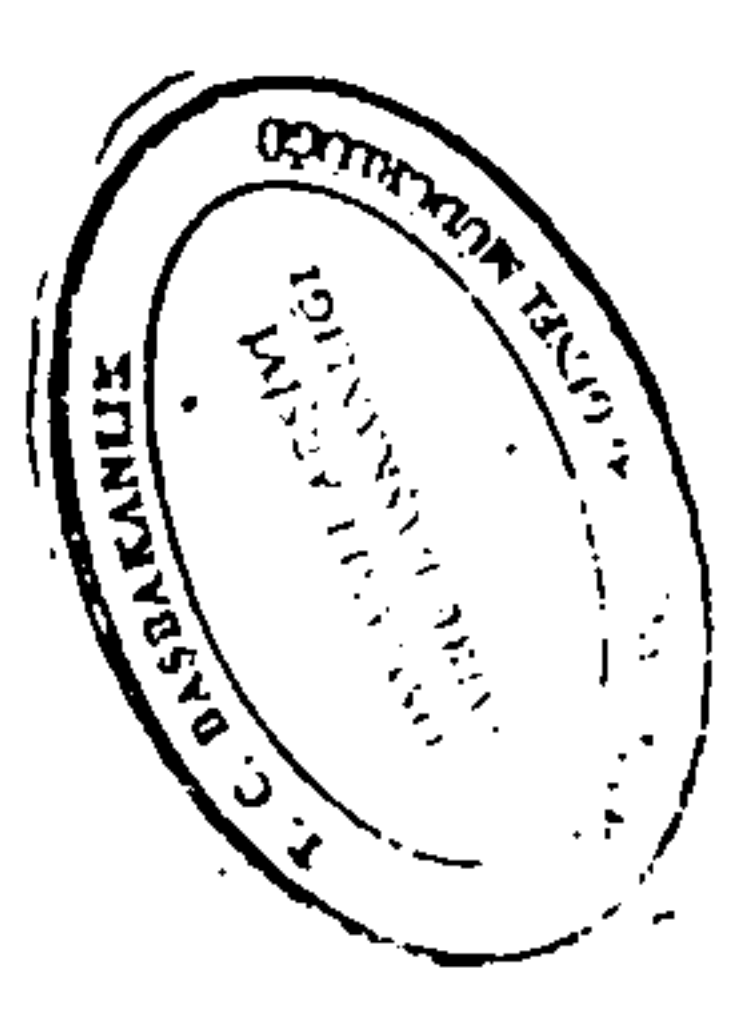
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Facsimile 6 (MM 2998)

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$$\begin{array}{r} 9203 \\ 79 \\ \hline 9282 \end{array}$$

$\frac{1}{-2}$   
 $\frac{1}{2}$   
 $\frac{1}{2}$

$$= \frac{1}{10 - 9\sqrt{10}} \cdot \frac{10 + 9\sqrt{10}}{10 + 9\sqrt{10}}$$

$\frac{90}{\text{ms}} \times \frac{1}{100} = \frac{90}{100} = 0.9$

[illegible]

TVE

0.2 21140 2.2

روزہ بینہ انعام اللہ تعالیٰ

۱۸۷۵ء ۱۸۷۶ء

۵۶۵۰۷

$$\begin{array}{r} 12710 \\ 2 \overline{) 25420} \\ \underline{25420} \\ 0 \end{array}$$

$\frac{1}{10} \times \frac{1}{10} = \frac{1}{100}$

$$\frac{10520}{100} = 105.2$$
$$\frac{2.350}{2.350} \quad \text{ke} \quad \frac{2.16}{2.16}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 10 \times 100 \\ \hline 1 \dots 32 \dots \end{array}$$

دروغہ مضبوط ہے

میں نے یہ سب کچھ لکھ دیا ہے

۳۳۳۳ ۳۳۳۳

$\frac{1}{\sqrt{1-\beta^2}}$   
 $\frac{1}{\sqrt{1-\frac{v^2}{c^2}}}$   
 $\frac{1}{\sqrt{1-\frac{16}{25}}}$   
 $\frac{1}{\sqrt{\frac{9}{25}}}$   
 $\frac{1}{\frac{3}{5}}$   
 $\frac{5}{3}$

The diagram shows a transversal line intersecting two horizontal lines. The top horizontal line has several angles labeled:  $\angle 1$ ,  $\angle 2$ ,  $\angle 3$ ,  $\angle 4$ ,  $\angle 5$ ,  $\angle 6$ ,  $\angle 7$ , and  $\angle 8$ . The bottom horizontal line has angles labeled  $\angle 9$ ,  $\angle 10$ ,  $\angle 11$ , and  $\angle 12$ . A circle is drawn around  $\angle 9$ . A line segment connects  $\angle 1$  to  $\angle 9$ . Another line segment connects  $\angle 4$  to  $\angle 10$ . The text 'P. 303' is written in the upper right corner.

$\therefore$

$\sqrt{1.50} \approx 1.22$

$\therefore \frac{1}{\sqrt{1 - \frac{v^2}{c^2}}} = \frac{1}{\sqrt{1 - \frac{1}{16}}} = \frac{4}{\sqrt{15}}$

Notam Akle

[illegible]



